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## BRAḤ MĀLEY YADEVAT THERAVATTHU

### I

In 'L'Origine Cinghalaise du P'rah Malay' (*Felicitatation volume of Southeast Asian Studies Presented to H.M. Prince Dhaninivat*, Vol. 2, Bangkok, 1965, pp. 329–38), the late Eugène Denis S.J. (1921–86) stated that the École Française d'Extrême-Orient was to publish his 1963 Sorbonne doctoral thesis, which was entitled 'Braḥ Māleyyadevattheravatthum, Légende bouddhiste du saint therā Māleyyadeva. Texte établi d'après des manuscrits inédits en caractères cambodgiennes, accompagné d'une introduction et d'une traduction, avec une traduction du P'rah Malay siamois qui en est dérivé'. Unfortunately this did not happen, and the article remains his only publication on the topic to date. Very few primary sources for the story — better, stories — of Māleyya<sup>1</sup> are yet available in the West, and Denis' thesis has proved elusive to a number of scholars who have tried to find it: even those in Paris, including Denis' Directeur de travaux, André Bareau, seem to have had some difficulty in locating a copy. The Pali Text Society has acquired one through Professor O. von Hinüber, itself taken from a copy in the library of the University of Göttingen. It seemed to us that it would be useful to make available here Denis' text, accompanied by a translation of it into English.<sup>2</sup> The story of Māleyyadeva is known to have been very important in the practice of traditional Thai Buddhism; but the text is also relevant to the matters of linguistic and literary history with which the JPTS is more specifically

<sup>1</sup> The Pali form of the name is spelt variously, as Maliya, Malaya, Māleyya, etc., sometimes with one of the suffixes -mahādeva or -deva; sometimes these suffixes are used alone (as in the text p. 58 below). For brevity I shall use Māleyya.

<sup>2</sup> Permission for the present publication has been given by Denis' surviving sister, Mme Marie-Thérèse Saulnier; we are grateful to Jacqueline Filliozat for contacting Mme Saulnier on our behalf.

concerned. Denis' edition was certainly intended as no more than a pioneering first attempt; more work must be done on other manuscripts before anything like a definitive version of this particular Māleyya text can be established. But it can already contribute to the further understanding of Pali in Southeast Asia, and to that of the literary history of the Pali tradition.

Denis' Introduction contains four sections: I — 'The Legend of P'raḥ Malay'; II — 'The thera Māleyyadeva — Sinhalese sources; III — 'The development of the legend — Southeast Asian texts'; IV — 'The Influence of the legend in Southeast Asian countries'; and two accounts of manuscripts: V — 'Description of the documents' [in Thai and Pali, on which his edition and translations were based]; and VI — 'A list of manuscripts of the P'raḥ Malay found at Luang Prabang and Vientiane'. There follow translations of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu* (hereafter Mth-v), of Chapter 10 of the *Rasavāhinī*, and of the *P'raḥ Malay* [sometimes transliterated *Phra Malai*], and a Bibliography; and then the text of Mth-v, and of relevant sections of the *Rasavāhinī* and *Sahassavatthu*, transcribed from Sinhalese editions.<sup>1</sup> Some of the Introduction has been published, in the article mentioned above; for this reason, and also because new information has appeared in the thirty years since the thesis was written, what follows here is a summary (section III below), with additional information. A final section IV gives Denis' description of the manuscripts used, and explains how we have established the text of Mth-v from Denis' typescript.

<sup>1</sup> The former has not been edited in a European edition; the latter is forthcoming from the PTS, edited by Jacqueline Filliozat. On these texts, see now T. Rahula, 'The *Rasavāhinī* and the *Sahassavatthu*: a Comparison', in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* Vol. 7, 2, 1974, pp. 169–84.

## II

It has become clear in recent years that certain features of Southeast Asian Pali may well not be scribal errors, as had been previously thought, but genuine characteristics of the language as it was used in later Pali literature from that region. As is clear from his comments translated below (p. 15), Denis was aware of this, referring to F. Martini's edition and translation of the *Dasabodhisatta-uddesa* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 36, 1936, pp. 287–390), and G. Terral's edition and study of the '*Samuddaghosajātaka: conte pali tiré du Paññāsa-jātaka*' (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 48, 1956, pp. 249–351).<sup>1</sup> Mth-v provides further evidence in support of this hypothesis.

As far as the literary history of Pali is concerned, study of the text will contribute to our knowledge of later Pali materials, and specifically to our assessment of the place of non-canonical texts in Buddhist cultures. In one of the earliest references to the Māleyyadeva story, G. Cœdès cited it as an example of 'a certain number of apocryphal *suttas* and *jātakas* which must have been forged in Thailand' ('Note sur les ouvrages Palis composés en pays Thai', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 15 (3), 1915, p. 40 and note 3. He was followed in this assessment by A.B. Griswold ('A Warning to Evildoers', *Artibus Asiae* Vol. XX, 1957, p. 18 and note 1) and by H. Saddhātissa ('Pali Literature of Thailand', in L. Cousins et al. (eds.) *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, p. 215). Some manuscripts have the word *sutta* in their title; but neither the Pali version printed here, nor the translation of the Thai *P'raḥ Malay* given

<sup>1</sup> See also now P.S. Jaini's edition of the *Paññāsa-jātaka* (2 Vols., PTS 1981–83); K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Wiesbaden, 1983) pp. 144, 178, and the works cited there; and C. Hallisey, '*Nibbānasutta*: an allegedly non-canonical sutta on Nibbāna as a great city'. (See pp. 97 foll. below).

by Denis in his thesis, nor a translation of the 'royal' Thai version (*Phra Malai Kham Luang*) kindly made available to me by Bonnie Brereton show any sign of attempting to resemble a *sutta*: they are not spoken by the Buddha (indeed they open with an address to him), nor do they begin *evam me sutam*. Further empirical research into different versions is necessary; but also, on a theoretical level, it is by no means clear that the language of 'apocryphal forgeries' is helpful in addressing the issues here. Even in the case of texts which do resemble *sutta*-s formally, it may be that the form should be taken as a sign of literary genre rather than an attempt at historical deception. Moreover, the designation *sutta* for texts not included in the traditional *piṭaka* list cannot pre-judge the issue of whether their contents differ from those of 'the Canon', nor does it indicate whether or not the texts so called have been regarded in practice in the same way as 'the Canon'. For these reasons Charles Hallisey has suggested that we use a phrase of K.D. Somadasa, 'allegedly non-canonical', or perhaps some other such as 'deutero-canonical', to refer to texts of this kind ('*Tuṇḍilovāda*: an allegedly non-canonical *Sutta*', *JPTS* Vol. XV, 1990, pp. 156–58; '*Nibbānasutta*: an allegedly non-canonical *sutta* on Nibbāna as a great city', [see pp. 97 foll. below]). In the case of the *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*, the classificatory issue of its 'canonicity' is clear: it is neither in the *sutta* genre nor in the *piṭaka* lists. Whether or not we should regard it as being comparable to the 'canonical' texts in status and/or use is an empirical issue, to be decided — perhaps differently — for specific times and places.<sup>1</sup>

The need for both further empirical research and further discussion of the descriptive concepts we employ is also evident in relation to the question of the origin and development of the story, an issue addressed by Denis in his article and in the Introduction to his

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks, and those cited from C. Keyes, in 'On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon', *JPTS* Vol. XV 1990, pp. 103–4.

thesis. I shall discuss empirical data in III below. Here I wish to quote some remarks of A.K. Ramanujan on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which I think apply very well to the range of stories referred to as those of Māleyya, Vessantara, and 'the' *Anāgatavaṃsa* (the name not of a text but of a family of texts), three closely associated strands of the Theravāda tradition. Ramanujan writes of the many different 'tellings' of the Rāma story:

Obviously, these hundreds of tellings differ from one another. I have come to prefer the word *tellings* to the usual terms *versions* or *variants* because the latter terms can and typically do imply that there is an invariant, an original or *Ur-text* — usually Vālmīki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, the earliest and most prestigious of them all. But ... it is not always Vālmīki's narrative that is carried from one language to another.

The variety and number of different tellings lead him to suggest that

the cultural area in which the *Rāmāyaṇas* are endemic has a pool of signifiers (like a gene pool), signifiers that include plots, characters, names, geography, incidents and relationships. Oral, written, and performance traditions, phrases, proverbs ... [all] carry allusions to the Rāma story. These various texts not only relate to prior texts directly, to borrow or refute, but they relate to each other through this common code or common pool. Every author, if one may hazard a metaphor, dips into it and brings out a unique crystallization, a new text with a unique texture and a fresh context.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Three Hundred Rāmāyaṇas', in P. Richman (ed.), *Many Rāmāyaṇas: the Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia* (University of California Press, 1991); quotes from pp. 25, 46.

Although the different tellings of the stories about Māleyya, Vessantara, the Bodhisatta Metteyya and other future Buddhas, are not so varied as those of the characters of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ramanujan's choice of language here seems to me helpful in considering the origin and development of the Māleyya stories, as well as the relationships — both textual and contextual — between these stories and those of Metteyya and Vessantara. The particular telling found in this written text of the *Māleyyadevattheravattthu* seems most likely to have occurred first in Thailand; but as Denis shows, the 'pool of signifiers' from which this 'crystallization' was taken began in Sri Lanka.

### III

In the first section of his Introduction Denis cites previous notices of the Māleyya stories: in chronological order these are: E. Burnouf, *Essai sur le pali* (Paris, 1826), pp. 209–12; G. Cœdès (as above); L. Finot, *Recherches sur la littérature laotienne* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* XVII, 1917, pp. 65–66; P. Schweisguth, *Etude sur la littérature siamoise* (Paris, 1951), p. 129; Prince Dhaninivat's review of a Thai re-publication of the 18th century 'Phra Malai, royal version', in the *Journal of the Siam Society* 1948 (1), pp. 69–72; A.B. Griswold (as above); and finally he refers to three tellings of the story, two in written form from Burma and Sri Lanka, and one oral chant ('une vieille mélodie') provided to him in writing by Ven. Wachissara from Southern Sri Lanka. The Burmese text is from the *Madhurarasa-vāhinī Vatthu*; the bibliographical details cited by Denis (as also in his article) can now be supplemented by H. Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, *Burmese Manuscripts Part 2* (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XXIII, 2, Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 192–93. Denis cites the Sinhalese text from a manuscript in the British Museum, referred to in D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of the Sinhalese manuscripts of the British Museum* (London, 1900);

it consists in verses, in variant form, from the Mth-v, which Denis gave as Appendix D (see p. 63 below).<sup>1</sup> Most of these verses are in fact found in the *Sīhalavattthupakarāṇa* (hereafter Sīh), a text which Denis consulted in a Sinhalese edition, and which has since been published by J. Ver Eecke (née Filliozat) in *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* Vol. CXXIII (Paris, 1980). Unfortunately he failed to notice that story III of that collection not only contains the verses, but indeed many of the elements of the Māleyya story as found in Mth-v.<sup>2</sup> In Ver Eecke's edition of Sīh III, she cites similar sections from two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, of which the first is entitled *bra māleyyasūtra*, with *māleyyadevatheravaṇṇa* (*sic*) in the colophon, and the second *bra māleyyadevattheraathavaṇṇana* (*sic*). In

<sup>1</sup> Denis gives the number wrongly in the first section, and in his article, as 109: it is 129 on pp. 142–43 (as correctly noted in the thesis p. 47 note 109). In Wickremasinghe's catalogue, the text is given as *Sampinḍi-mahānidāna*, 'an extract from a Pali text as yet unidentified, accompanied by a Sinhalese commentary'. In C.E. Godakumbara's *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts* (in the Royal Library) (Copenhagen, 1980), p. 200, what would appear to be the same verses — Godakumbara cites the last in Pali, which is almost identical to Denis' version — are found in a text called by him *Devadūtadharma-desa-nāva* and dated at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th centuries. In K.D. Somadasa's *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, Vol. 2 (London, 1989) a number of texts with this or similar titles are found, none of which seem to contain the verses; on pp. 3–4, however, they are said to be in a work called *Sampinḍimahānidānaya* (*Maitreya-Maliyadeva-sakacchā*), described by Nevill as 'a series of thirteen Pali Gāthās, accompanied by a free enlarged translation in Sinhalese'. W.A. de Silva's *Catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Colombo Museum* (Colombo, 1938) contains three texts, nos. 1450–52, with this same title. In Saddhātissa's 'Pali Literature in Cambodia' (*JPTS* Vol. IX 1981), p. 181, he refers to a *Sampinḍita-mahānidāna*, 'known in Sri Lanka as *Mahāsampinḍitanidāna*'. This text does refer to Metteyya, but it seems to have nothing to do with the Māleyya story; it is discussed and translated in part in Saddhātissa's *Birth Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas* (London, 1975), pp. 43–45.

<sup>2</sup> Ver Eecke notes that there seem to have been some unclaritys in the Sinhalese edition (op. cit., p. IV), which may perhaps account for the oversight.

her main text, story III ends with the words *metteyyavatthu tatiyam*. The modern Burmese bibliographical work *Piṭakattamain* states that Sīh was composed in Sri Lanka, but it is likely that its compilers 'had access to materials current in Southeast Asia',<sup>1</sup> and the title may well simply refer to the fact that most of its stories are set in Sri Lanka. This text must have been written before the first half of the 15th century, since it is mentioned in a Burmese inscription of A.D. 1442, but it remains uncertain whether some or all of it can be traced back to Sri Lanka.

It is, however, certain that some elements of the story — the pool of signifiers — can be traced back to Sri Lanka, and this is the subject of Denis' section II, on the Sinhalese sources for the elder Māleyyadeva. The lack of reference to Sīh story III renders this section somewhat out-dated. Denis refers to previous discussions of monks called by various similar names, by T.W. Rhys Davids, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1901, pp. 889 foll., and by A.P. Buddhadatta, in the introduction to his Sinhala script edition of the *Sahassavatthu*, concluding that it is impossible to tell whether all the uses of the name concern one and the same person; he thinks that there was an original historical figure to whose name legendary elements were added. The texts which deal with Maliya/Māleyya etc. are, in the order treated<sup>2</sup>: Mp I 38–39, Ps V 101–03, Vism 241–42 (= HOS ed. VIII 49), Ja IV 490, VI 30, Mhv XXXII 49–50, Mhv-ṭ 606. Although it is by no means clear that the similarity of names shows that we are dealing here with a single figure, historical or legendary, it is true that many of the stories concern excellence at preaching, which is one of Māleyya's characteristics in Mth-v. Denis discusses only story 41 of Sīh, which is quite different from Mth-v, although the name Māleyyadeva does appear in it and it does have a generic resemblance to Mth-v in so far as it concerns the

<sup>1</sup> K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations used are those of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

value of giving.<sup>1</sup> He then describes three stories found both in the *Sahassavatthu* and *Rasavāhinī*; the former text is mentioned in the same inscription of 1442 mentioned above, and the latter is dated to the 13th or 14th centuries A.D.<sup>2</sup> The first resembles story 41 of Sīh; the second concerns giving, and has Maliyadeva (as the name appears there) conversing with Sakka on that subject. The faint analogy to the Māleyya story found in these stories is much stronger in the third, Sah story 77 and Ras Chapter 10, 1. Here Maliyadeva visits the Cūlāmaṇi shrine in heaven with a layman, sees various gods and explains to the layman the good deeds done by them on earth which resulted in their rebirth there. At the end Metteyya appears<sup>3</sup> and gives the layman a celestial robe; the latter returns to earth, and thereafter dies and is reborn in the Tusita heaven. (Ras is more elaborate than Sah, but the essentials of the story are the same.)

The third section, on the development of the legend in Southeast Asia, can be improved on now thanks to the work of Bonnie Brereton: see her article 'Some comments on a Northern Thai *Phra Mala* Text dated C.S. 878 (A.D. 1516)', forthcoming in *Journal of the Siam Society*; and her recent doctorate thesis at the University of Michigan, 'The *Phra Malai* Theme in Thai Buddhist Literature: a study of three texts' (1992). The thesis makes clear that, as mentioned above, there are a number of different 'tellings' of the stories involving Māleyya, Metteyya and Vessantara, in Pali and various vernaculars, some of them closely intertwined. Brereton's article enables us to improve on Denis' dating. The text discussed there, which very closely parallels Mth-v, is

<sup>1</sup> Denis says that the title of the story is *Māleyyadevattheravatthu*, which follows one of the titles given by the Sinhalese edition; Ver Eecke (op. cit., pp. V–VI) gives also *vaṇibbakayāgudāko*.

<sup>2</sup> K.R. Norman, op. cit., p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> The Ras version given by Denis contains the very surprising phrase *anekasatapaccekabuddhabodhisatthehi ca parivuto*, used of Metteyya.



in the form of a *nissaya*: that is, what is presented as a Thai 'commentary' on a Pali text. One might conclude that a version of Mth-v in Pali was in existence at that time, but it is by no means clear that the *nissaya* form does not result in fact from a Thai story grouped around Pali phrases invented for the sake of linguistic and religious prestige. But clearly the contents of Mth-v, in whatever linguistic form, were already in existence in the early 16th century in something close to the Mth-v version. Many other aspects of Denis' treatment remain valuable, however. He says that although the story of Māleyya was also known in Burma, the texts through which we can come to know it are primarily preserved in Thailand and Cambodia. (Information on mss. known to Denis can be found in his article, pp. 330–31 note 6. The manuscripts from which Buddhaddatta made his Sinhalese edition of *Sih*, which Ver Eecke then transliterated in the *Ee*, were all in Burmese script.) The general structure of the story is, as he says, already present in the *Ras* and *Sah* versions. Certain narrative elements and emphases are changed in the Southeast Asian versions, and others added. The principal additions are, (i) in vernacular versions, extensive descriptions of the hells visited by Māleyya (which themselves draw on materials such as the *Nimi-jātaka* and the visits to hell by Moggallāna in the *Mahāvastu*<sup>1</sup>), and in both vernacular and Pali versions; (ii) more elaborate tellings of the previous good deeds done by the inhabitants of heaven and of Metteyya's bodhisatta-career; (iii) the connection between hearing recitations of the *Vessantara-jātaka* and rebirth at the time of Metteyya; (iv) the account by Metteyya of the degeneration and renewal of religion (itself taken, sometimes word-for-word, from the *Cakkavatti-sihanāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, which Denis curiously fails to mention); and (v) Metteyya's account of the paradisaical conditions which will obtain

<sup>1</sup> This is also a feature, Denis remarks, of the *Traibhūmi-kathā*: see now the translations by G. Cœdès and C. Archaimbault, *Les Trois Mondes* (*Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. LXXXIX, 1973) and F.E. and M.B. Reynolds, *The Three Worlds* (Berkeley, 1982).

when he is reborn on earth. Denis states that many of the developments of the part of the story concerning Metteyya are found in sections of the *Saddharmālaṅkāra*,<sup>1</sup> a 14th century Sinhala work which is otherwise a translation of *Ras*. Given that the dating and provenance of these stories are uncertain, it cannot be decided if this Sinhala version is an indigenous creation or taken from texts originating in Southeast Asia.

The association between the Māleyya story and that of Vessantara has been discussed by S.J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults of Northeast Thailand* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), and L. McClung, *The Vessantara Jātaka: paradigm for a Buddhist Utopia* (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University 1975). Denis cites a Burmese author of the early 20th century who states that the two were recited together, and a Burmese inscription from 1201, which Luce interpreted as referring to successive recitations of the two texts.<sup>2</sup> Brereton (1992) further explores the connection; manuscripts often contain the two stories together.

In the short fourth section, on the influence of the story in Southeast Asia, Denis discusses the times and occasions at which Māleyya texts were recited (the end of the Rainy Season Retreat, marriages and funerals, merit-making ceremonies) and adds some information about the manner of reciting the texts which is of interest not only for the social history of these stories, but also for our appreciation of the relation between written text and performance context. He cites K.E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: its rites and activities* (Bangkok, 1939), p. 233, who reports that normally there were three reciters, one for Māleyya, one for Indra (Sakka) and one for Metteyya;

<sup>1</sup> According to W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo 1956), p. xxxv note 2, called the *Metteyya-vastu*.

<sup>2</sup> Denis cites G.H. Luce, *Inscriptions of Burma* (n.d.), Portfolio I Plate XXII lines 1–7.

and states that skilled reciters of the text could gain a considerable reputation (he cites R. Lingat, 'Le Wat Rajapratistha', *Artibus Asiae* 1961 Vol. XXIV p. 232). Denis made a tape recording of one of the last celebrated reciters of the Māleyya story then living in Bangkok. He was a famous reciter of the 'Liké' form of 'popular comic theatre'. The passages chanted were from the earlier part of the Thai *P'rah Malay*, concerning hells and the tortures endured by their inhabitants: the first two passages were chanted by a monk in an ordinary tone; the next nine by the reciter, 'in the Petchaburi tone. The style is more complex and dramatic'; the last seven passages were chanted by him in a manner resembling that of the 'Liké' theatre. Denis adds that on a number of occasions decrees were passed against this manner of chanting the *P'rah Malay*, and goes on to give examples:

'These recitations led often to excess. The crowd liked reciters who acted the part of their characters and did not hesitate to make use of comic gestures and tones. A decree of 1801 legislated on the subject: 'on the occasion of funerals, the "master of ceremonies" is forbidden to invite monks to recite the P'rah Malai; only the P'rah Aph'ith'amma [the *Abhidhamma*] is to be recited in an ordinary tone, not in the Indian, Chinese, European or Môn tones ... . If there are laypeople who want to recite the P'rah Malay, they may do so, but should avoid a comic tone [un ton plaisant (drôle)] ... .'

A law of 1782 had already warned monks against reciting the P'rah Malay and similar texts in a theatrical manner. It also throws an interesting light on the popularity of devotion to Metteyya at that time. It stated that "many people endeavour to accomplish all kinds of meritorious acts so as to be able to meet [Metteyya], according to the instructions given to P'rah Malay by [Metteyya] himself, who recommended that everyone revere and listen to the *Vessantara-jātaka* in One Thousand Verses in order to meet him in the future ... . Monks who preach the Law and laity who listen to the [*Vessantara-jātaka*] should

use the Pali [text] and the Commentaries; if they want to meet [Metteyya] in the future, they should not use rhyming texts, and the comical, theatrical manner of representing P'rah Malay, which is an offence against the Vinaya".'

#### IV

In the fifth section of his Introduction, Denis describes the Thai and Pali manuscripts he used, and his reasons for making the edition of the Pali Mth-v as he did; his remarks concerning the latter are:

'For the Pali text [of Mth-v] we were able to use five manuscripts:

1. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Bangkok (Mss Pali No. 147), of which we have a photocopy. It is written in 'mūl' characters engraved on ola-leaves. There are 24 ola-leaves, thus 48 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page contains only the title: 'Brah Māleyyadevatthera- vatthum, 1 ph'uk (1 bundle). This is without doubt the best preserved manuscript, and we reproduce it as the main text. We refer to it as M1.
2. A manuscript in the Institut Bouddhique de Pnom-Penh [*sic*], given to the Institut in 1930 by the Daṃnap monastery in Kampong Chnnang [*sic*] province. It is written in 'mūl' characters on 26 ola-leaves, thus 52 pages, with 5 lines per page. The Ven. Brah Grū Saṅghasatthā P.S. Dharmārāma, of the Lycée Boudhique of Pnom-Penh, has been kind enough to copy this text for us in 'mūl' characters and to send us the copy. We had asked him to transcribe it faithfully without standardising the Pali. He writes that the manuscript cannot be old, as it is easily legible. We have ascertained that the text of this manuscript is very similar to that of the Bangkok manuscript, with only one interpolation [see text p. 26 note 2]. We refer to it as M2.

3. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (cf. A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits Pali de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*. 2e fasc. No. 326) (gift of the Société des Missions Étrangères). It is written in 'mūl' characters on ola-leaves. There are 18 ola-leaves, thus 36 pages, with one line per page, but the last ola leaf is for protection only and the first carries only the title: *Brah Māleyya Sutra* [sic]. The text is written in a good, regular hand. The title is in different handwriting and seems to have been added afterwards. Notes in Cambodian have been added on the first and second pages. This manuscript contains quite significant variations from M1. We have had to reproduce entire passages at the end of the notes [Appendices A, B, C]. We refer to it as M3.

4. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque de Paris, No. 658 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is in 'mūl' script on ola-leaves. There are 12 ola-leaves, thus 24 pages, with 5 lines per page. The first page has the title: *Brah Māleyya devathera* [sic]. The text is incomplete and only covers the first part (the arrival of the 12 Junior Gods) and the beginning of the second part, finishing in the middle of a sentence. We refer to it as M4.

5. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, No. 659 in A. Cabaton's *Catalogue*. It is written in 'mūl' characters on ola-leaves. There are 13 ola-leaves, but five are for protection only at the end, and the first carries only the title: *Brah Māleyya devathera atthavaṇṇanā* [sic]. There are therefore only 7 ola-leaves left, thus 14 pages, with 5 lines per page. It is the shortest text; it is very incomplete, only covering the last part, and even the beginning of this part is missing. It begins in the middle of a sentence. This is not a continuation of No. 658 [i.e. M4], as one might think. The writing is neat and regular, very different from the preceding manuscript. Moreover the texts are not continuous. We refer to it as M5.

None of these manuscripts carries a date. A. Cabaton, in his *Catalogue*, dates manuscript No. 326 [i.e. M3] to the 18th century, and Nos. 658 and 659 [M4 and M5] to the 19th. We do not know on what he based these dates.

One can apply to the Pali of our manuscripts the remarks made by G. Terral (op. cit., pp. 263–64) on the *Samuddaghosajātaka*, and by F. Martini (op. cit., pp. 370 foll.) on the *Dasa-Bodhisatta-Uddesa*. Firstly, there are many copying errors. One constantly finds short *i* and *u* instead of long *ī* and *ū*, dentals instead of cerebrals and vice-versa, aspirates instead of non-aspirates and vice-versa, etc. Moreover, syllables are often omitted, words miscopied (*karonto* in place of *kathento*), etc. In addition, it seems that the Pali of our texts has been strongly influenced by the Indo-Chinese languages spoken by copyists fairly ignorant of Pali, and perhaps even by the authors of our texts. We have not undertaken a systematic survey of all the grammatical anomalies, which would only repeat the studies of F. Martini and G. Terral. As far as possible we have transcribed the texts, with all their anomalies, such as we have found them in the manuscripts, restricting ourselves to adding occasionally, in parentheses, certain syllables which had evidently been omitted through negligence. We thought that these texts were sufficiently comprehensible transcribed as they are, without being standardised, and could thus contribute to future comparisons or studies carried out by qualified philologists.'

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The text given here — which has been prepared for publication by K.R. Norman and myself — follows Denis' edition as closely as possible, for the same reasons. On some occasions we have corrected what seemed in our judgement to be obviously typographical errors: for example, on p. 26 line 6 his typescript had *uppapajjati* in place of



*upapajjati*. It seems unlikely that all his mss. would have had the same mis-spelling, so we have assumed it is a typographical error by Denis. Similarly on p. 36 we have given *samattam* on line 8 for (for his *samataṃ*) and on line 12 *-candamaṇḍalo* (for his *-candamandalo*, since he gives *-maṇḍalo* elsewhere). Obviously we may not have made the right decision in every case. Where we found unusual spellings used consistently, e.g. *Tāmbapaṇṇi* (for *Tambapaṇṇi*) we have left them as they were. Denis' method of making an edition was perhaps a little unusual, since he transcribed M1 throughout, even where other mss. contained clearly what would usually be thought to be better readings: for example, on p. 21 line 9 he gives *eva sammacintesi* where M2 and M4 have *evaṃ samacintesi*, which would be correct in standard Pali. In this particular case one might decide that the forms in M1 and M3 are simply errors; in other cases it might be better to assume that we have genuinely variant forms. In the present state of our knowledge, both of this text (and the family of texts from which it comes) and of Southeast Asian Pali more generally, it seems more prudent to present what is clearly not a critical edition, and hope that future scholarship will be able to clarify the usages involved so that — when more manuscripts are consulted — the making of a critical edition may become feasible. (There has been, of course, much debate about the very notion of a 'critical edition' in relation to South and Southeast Asian materials.) In my translation I have noted on the few occasions where it seemed necessary that I have adopted a different reading from that in M1; for the most part the issues involved in the variant readings will be obvious to those who know Pali, and irrelevant to those who do not.

May this publication honour the memory of Father Denis, and add to the scholarly reputation already acquired by his *La Lokapaññatti et*

*les idées cosmologiques de Bouddhisme ancien* (Atelier Reproduction des Thèses, Université de Lille, 1977)

Chicago

Steven Collins

## BRAḤ MĀLEY YADEVAT THERA VATTHUṂ

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.<sup>1</sup>

suranaramahiṇiyaṃ<sup>2</sup> buddhaseṭṭhaṃ namitvā<sup>3</sup>

sugatappabhavaṃ dhammaṃ<sup>4</sup> sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca namitvā<sup>5</sup>

sakalajanappasādaṃ Mālayyaṃ<sup>6</sup> nāma vatthum

paramanayaviccitaṃ sāmāsā ārabhissan ti.<sup>7</sup>

atite<sup>8</sup> kira<sup>9</sup> ratanapatiṭṭhānabhūte Laṅkā dīpasāṅkhāte<sup>10</sup> Tāmbapaṇṇidīpe<sup>11</sup>  
paramiddhiṇāṇena pākaṭo<sup>12</sup> Māleyya devatthero nāma eko thero<sup>13</sup>  
Kambojagāmaṃ nissāya Rohanajanapade vihāsi.<sup>14</sup> so pana<sup>15</sup> thero  
punappunaṃ niraye paccamānaṃ<sup>16</sup> narakānaṃ<sup>17</sup> pavuttim āharitvā  
tesaṃ nātakānaṃ kathetvā dānādīni puñṇāni kārāpetvā tesaṃ uddissa  
puñṇānumodanena laddhapuñṇaphalena<sup>18</sup> deva lokaparāyane karonto  
tatt' eva vihāsi. so pi iddhibalena deva lokaṃ ca yama lokaṃ ca gacchati.  
deva loka ratanattaye pasannānaṃ upāsakānaṃ upāsikānaṃ mahantaṃ

<sup>1</sup> M4: om.

<sup>2</sup> M4: suranamahīṇiyaṃ

<sup>3</sup> M2: buddhaseṭṭhaṃ ca namitvā

<sup>4</sup> M2: sugatappabhāvaṃ dhammaṃ

<sup>5</sup> M2: sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca natvā; M4: sādhuṃ saṅghaṃ ca namitvā

<sup>6</sup> M2 & M4: Māleyyaṃ

<sup>7</sup> M2: ārabhissan ti; M3: om. four preceding lines and replaces by namatthu;  
M4: ārebhissan

<sup>8</sup> M3 & M4: atite

<sup>9</sup> M3: om. kira

<sup>10</sup> M3 & M4: om. these two words

<sup>11</sup> M2: Tāmbapaṇṇiya dīpe; M3: Tāmbapaṇṇadīpe; M4: Tāmbapaṇṇiya dīpe

<sup>12</sup> M3 & M4: om. these two words

<sup>13</sup> M3: om. eko thero; M4: om. thero

<sup>14</sup> M3 & M4: pavisi

<sup>15</sup> M3: om. all of the passage between so pana thero and tasmiṃ gāme; M4: om.  
all of the passage between so pana thero and so thero pubbaṇhasamaye

<sup>16</sup> M2: paccamānaṃ

<sup>17</sup> M2: narakānaṃ

<sup>18</sup> M2: puñṇāphalena

isiriyaṃ<sup>1</sup> disvā āgantvā “asuko ca upāsako asukā ca upāsikā asukasmim<sup>2</sup> nāma devaloke nibbattetvā mahāsampattim anubhavanti” ti manussānaṃ kathesi. yamaloke pāpamanussānaṃ mahantaṃ dukkhaṃ disvā āgantvā “asuko ca asukā ca asukasmim niraye nibbattetvā mahantaṃ dukkhaṃ anubhavanti” ti manussānaṃ kathesi. manussā sāsane pasīdanti pāpāni na karonti dānādīni puññāni nātakānaṃ kālakatānaṃ uddissimsu te uddissa puññānumodanena laddhapuññaphalena devalokaparāyanā honti. ath’ ekadivasaṃ so thero pubbaṇhasamaye utthāy’ āsanā<sup>3</sup> pattacivaram ādāya piṇḍapātāṃ gahanatthāya gāmaṃ pāvīsi. tasmim gāme<sup>4</sup> eko daliddakapuriso<sup>5</sup> mātu-upatthānaṃ<sup>6</sup> karoti. tasmim kāle so gāmato nikkhamitvā<sup>7</sup> nhāpanatthāya<sup>8</sup> ekaṃ saraṃ patvā tattha nhātvā<sup>9</sup> aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni disvā tāni gahetvā<sup>10</sup> sarā uttaritvā<sup>11</sup> maggaṃ paṭipajji.<sup>12</sup> tadā so therāṃ āgacchantāṃ<sup>13</sup> santaṃ dantaṃ suguttaṃ<sup>14</sup> jitindriyaṃ uttamarūpadharaṃ pattahatthaṃ disvā samuppanna-pītipāmojjo yena thero ten’ upasaṅkami<sup>15</sup> upasaṅkamitvā dasa-nakhasamodhānakaraputakamalo<sup>16</sup> therāṃ vanditvā<sup>17</sup> saddhāya

<sup>1</sup> M2: issariyaṃ

<sup>2</sup> M2: asuko ca asukā ca asukasmim nāma

<sup>3</sup> M4: om. utthāy’ āsanā

<sup>4</sup> M2: pavīsi; M3: tadā tasmim gāmaṃ

<sup>5</sup> M2: dalikapuriso; M3: daliddakapuriso; M4: daliddhapuriso

<sup>6</sup> M3: māta-upathākam; M4: mātu-upatthākam

<sup>7</sup> M3: om. gāmato nikkhamitvā and adds dalikapuriso

<sup>8</sup> M2: nahāpanatthāya

<sup>9</sup> M2: nahātvā

<sup>10</sup> M3: replaces tāni gahetvā by tattha niluppalapupphāni gahetvā

<sup>11</sup> M3: sara-utaritvā; M4: sarāni utaritvā

<sup>12</sup> M3: paṭtipajji

<sup>13</sup> M3: āgacchante

<sup>14</sup> M3: sugatajitindriyaṃ; M4: sugutaṃ

<sup>15</sup> M3: ten’ upasaṅkamitvā

<sup>16</sup> M3: om. upasaṅkamitvā dasa ... kamalo and replaces it by pana; M4: om. dasa ... kamalo and replaces it by ca pana

<sup>17</sup> M3: vandhitvā

bahulatāya<sup>1</sup> aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni therassa hatthe datvā paṇidhānaṃ<sup>2</sup> karonto imaṃ gāthaṃ āha<sup>3</sup>:

iminā pupphadānena yattha yattha<sup>4</sup> bhavāmi ’haṃ

jātisatasahassesu mā daliddo<sup>5</sup> bhavāmi ’han ti.<sup>6</sup>

thero aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni<sup>7</sup> gahetvā anumodanaṃ karonto imaṃ gāthaṃ āha<sup>8</sup>:

yaṃ yaṃ lūkhaṃ paṇitaṃ<sup>9</sup> vā deti pasannamānaso<sup>10</sup>

vipākaṃ tassa dānassa<sup>11</sup> yathā-icchā samijjhatī ti.<sup>12</sup>

thero anumodanaṃ katvā<sup>13</sup> eva sammacintesi<sup>14</sup> “imāni aṭṭhaniluppala-pupphāni kuhiṃ āropessāmi<sup>15</sup> cetiyaṃ vā udāhu upari pabbate vā parinibbute vā<sup>16</sup> mahābodhiyaṃ<sup>17</sup> vā bhagavato anuttaradhamma-cakkapavattanaṭṭhāne vā” ti.<sup>18</sup> puna cintesi “etāni thānāni sattakkhattum eva pūjesi<sup>19</sup> yan nūnāhaṃ devaloke Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ pūjessāmi” ti.

<sup>1</sup> M3 & M4: bahulatāya

<sup>2</sup> M4: (pa)nidhānaṃ

<sup>3</sup> M3: therassa adāsi aṭṭhānakaronto āha instead of therassa ... imaṃ gāthaṃ āha

<sup>4</sup> M4: yattha tattha

<sup>5</sup> M3 & M4: daliddho

<sup>6</sup> M3: bhavāmi ’haṃ

<sup>7</sup> M3: niluppalapupphāni

<sup>8</sup> M3: om. imaṃ gāthaṃ

<sup>9</sup> M3: sukhaṃ paṇitaṃ

<sup>10</sup> M3: pasananāpi dentiya

<sup>11</sup> M3: tena puññavipākena

<sup>12</sup> M3: samijjhatu

<sup>13</sup> M3: karonto

<sup>14</sup> M2 & M4: evaṃ sammacintesi; M3: eva sammacintesi

<sup>15</sup> M3: ā(ro)pessāmi and adds here udāhu

<sup>16</sup> M3: om. parinibbute vā; M4: om. uparipabbate vā parinibbute vā

<sup>17</sup> M4: mahā(bo)dhiyaṃ vā

<sup>18</sup> M3: pavattitaṭṭhāne vā and om. ti

<sup>19</sup> M2: pūjesi; M3: satam eva pūjessāmi; M4: pūjessi

thero<sup>1</sup> attanā cintitasamanantaram eva abhiññāpādakaṃ catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajjitvā tato vutthāya anilapathatalaṃ<sup>2</sup> ullaṅghitvā accharāsaṅghātamattam eva sattaratanaviccittatalabhūmibhāgapatiṃaṇḍita-vilasitadidasadevanagaramajjhe Sakkena devarañña bhagavato attanā kappāsapicutulasadisamudutalajālavicittakaragahitena asinā chinditaparamamolīṃ “sac’ āham<sup>3</sup> imāya pabbajjāya paramasambodhiṃ patvā buddho bhavissāmi mama molīṃ bhūmiyaṃ<sup>4</sup> mā patatū” ti<sup>5</sup> adhiṭṭhānena bhūmiyaṃ apatamānaṃ<sup>6</sup> ākāse yeva pakkhipitvā sakasirasā vahatena suvaṇṇacaṅgoṭakavarena sampatiṇṇhitvā sakalasuragaṇānaṃ pūjanatthāya sasādarapatiṭṭhāpitaṃ manorammaṃ indanīlamanimayaṃ<sup>7</sup> Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṅgaṇaṃ patvā aṭṭhanīluppalapupphehi pujeṭvā<sup>8</sup> padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā pañcapatiṭṭhitaṇa<sup>9</sup> vanditvā pācīnadisābhāge<sup>10</sup> nisīdi.

tena vuttaṃ:

abhiññāpādakaṃ jhānaṃ samāpajjitvā jhānato  
vutthāya hemamaṃseva<sup>11</sup> nabhaṃ uttamma tāvade<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M3: *replaces the passage between thero and* tasmim Sakko devarājā *by* thero tadahe yeva vehāsaṃ abhūgantvā apurasamghātamattam pi Vejayanapāsādassa purato aṭṭhāsi thero cetiyaṃ disvā somanassapatto cetiyaṃ vandhitvā niluppalapupphehi pujeṭvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vandhitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi Sakko devarājā; M4: *replaces the same passage by* thero tadahe va vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā accharāsaṅghātamantāppi ... (then as M3) ... aṭṭhāsi tasmim khaṇe Sakko devarājā

<sup>2</sup> M2: anīlapathāhālaṃ

<sup>3</sup> M2: saccāhaṃ

<sup>4</sup> M2: *om.* bhūmiyaṃ

<sup>5</sup> M2: mā pattatū ti

<sup>6</sup> M2: appattamānaṃ

<sup>7</sup> M2: *om.* mayaṃ

<sup>8</sup> M2: pūjivā

<sup>9</sup> M2: pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitaṇa

<sup>10</sup> M2: bhāgena

<sup>11</sup> M2: haṃso va

<sup>12</sup> M2: uggama tāvad eva

accharāsaṅghātamattam va Vejayantassa purato<sup>1</sup>  
cetiyaṃ upagantvāna pūjivā va avandi so ti.

tasmim khaṇe Sakko devarājā saha parivārehi āgantvā bhagavato dakkhiṇadāṭhaṇi ca Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṇi ca nānāvidhehi mālāgandhāvilepanādihi pūjeṭvā<sup>2</sup> taṃ theram nisinnaṃ disvā upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā<sup>3</sup> ekamantaṃ nisīdi.<sup>4</sup> sabbā devaparisā ca cetiyaṃ vanditvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā<sup>5</sup> theram vanditvā samantato nisīdiṃsu. sabbā pi devaccharā<sup>6</sup> cetiyaṃ pūjeṭvā vanditvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pañcapatiṭṭhitaṇa<sup>7</sup> theram vanditvā samantato nisīdiṃsu. Sakko devarājā theram pucchi<sup>8</sup> “bhante, kuto agacchathā” ti.<sup>9</sup> “mahārāja, ahaṃ Jambūḍīpāgato ’mhi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya” ti.<sup>10</sup> puna thero Sakkaṃ devārājānaṃ pucchi “kiṃ tayā Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ patiṭṭhāpitaṃ,<sup>11</sup> mahārāja” ti.<sup>12</sup> “āma, bhante, mayā devānaṃ pūjanatthāya patiṭṭhāpitaṃ” ti.<sup>13</sup> thero “devarāja, ime devā manussaloke kusalakammaṃ katvā dibbasukhaṃ anubhavitum<sup>14</sup> idha nibbattā<sup>15</sup> idāni kasmā puññaṃ karontī” ti pucchi.<sup>16</sup> “bhante, ime devā kusalakammaṃ katvā upari devalokaṃ gantukāmā va honti.<sup>17</sup> bhante, ye keci devā appapuñña te<sup>18</sup> na ciraṃ

<sup>1</sup> M2: pūrato

<sup>2</sup> M2: pūjivā

<sup>3</sup> M4: vandhitvā

<sup>4</sup> M3 & M4: aṭṭhāsi

<sup>5</sup> M2: *adds* pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitaṇa; M3: *adds* pacchā

<sup>6</sup> M2: deva-acchāra; M3 & M4: *om. the passage between* sabbā pi devaccharā *and* Sakko devarājā

<sup>7</sup> M2: pañcaṅgapatiṭṭhitaṇa

<sup>8</sup> M3: Sakko theram samapucchi

<sup>9</sup> M3: āgato ’sī ti

<sup>10</sup> M3: vandanatthāya

<sup>11</sup> M3: kiṃ tayā tidaṇṇa ṭhāpitaṃ; M4: ṭhāpitaṃ

<sup>12</sup> M2: *om.* mahārāja ti

<sup>13</sup> M3: āma bhante ti ahaṃ ṭhāpetvā devānaṃ pūjanatthāya; M4: ṭhāpitaṃ ti

<sup>14</sup> M2: anubhavanti

<sup>15</sup> M3 & M4: icchantā

<sup>16</sup> M3: *om.* pucchi

<sup>17</sup> M3: gantukāmā *and om.* va honti ti



sagge ʔhitā<sup>1</sup> yathā appadhaññā done ʔhapitā<sup>2</sup> khippam eva khiyanti.<sup>3</sup> bhante, ye keci devā bahūpuññā te<sup>4</sup> ciraṃ sagge<sup>5</sup> ʔhitā yathā bahūdhaññā<sup>6</sup> koṭṭhe ʔhapitā ciraṃ ʔhatvā na khiyanti.<sup>7</sup> bhante, yathā appadhaññā janā bahūsippā bahuñāṇino<sup>8</sup> kasivanijjādini karontā jīvantā na dukkarā<sup>9</sup> honti<sup>10</sup> tathā appapuññā devā phalaṃ<sup>11</sup> bhuñjitvā puna paraṃ puññaṃ<sup>12</sup> katvā pacchā saggasampattim<sup>13</sup> anubhavanti. bhante, yathā bahūdhaññā janā asippā<sup>14</sup> aññāṇino<sup>15</sup> kasivanijjādini akarontā<sup>16</sup> khīṇadhaññā<sup>17</sup> pacchā<sup>18</sup> daliddakatarā<sup>19</sup> honti evaṃ pi bahūpuññā<sup>20</sup> devā<sup>21</sup> phalaṃ anubhavanti paraṃ puññaṃ akatvā<sup>22</sup> pacchā daliddakappattā<sup>23</sup> jātā. bhante, yathā appadhaññā janā asippā aññāṇino kasivanijjādini akarontā daliddakatarā honti evaṃ pi appapuññā devā<sup>24</sup> phalaṃ anubhavanti paraṃ puññaṃ akatvā daliddakatarā honti. bhante, yathā

<sup>18</sup> M3 & M4: *om. te*; M3: *apuññā*

<sup>1</sup> M2: *sagge ʔhitā and om. text as far as yathā bahūdhaññā koṭṭhe ʔhapitā*

<sup>2</sup> M3: *yathā dhaññāno ʔhapitā*; M4: *yathā dhaññā done ʔhapitā*

<sup>3</sup> M3: *khippam eva khayyanti*

<sup>4</sup> M3 & M4: *om. te*

<sup>5</sup> M3: *sage*

<sup>6</sup> M3: *yathā dhaññā*

<sup>7</sup> M3: *na khayyanti*

<sup>8</sup> M3: *adds honti*

<sup>9</sup> M3: *dukkarā*

<sup>10</sup> M3 & M4: *om. honti*

<sup>11</sup> M3: *appapuññā janā phalaṃ*; M4: *appapuññā phalaṃ*

<sup>12</sup> M3: *(pu)ññaṃ*

<sup>13</sup> M2: *saggaṃ sampattim*; M3: *sukhaṃ sampattim*

<sup>14</sup> M3: *appasippā aññāṇino*

<sup>15</sup> M3: *adds honti*

<sup>16</sup> M3: *karontā*

<sup>17</sup> M3: *om. text as far as bhiyyoso mattāya vaḍhanti*

<sup>18</sup> M2 & M4: *om. pacchā*

<sup>19</sup> M2: *daliddakā*; M4: *daliddhakā*

<sup>20</sup> M4: *bahū(pu)ññā*

<sup>21</sup> M4: *om. devā*

<sup>22</sup> M4: *na puññaṃ katvā*

<sup>23</sup> M4: *daliddhakappattā*

<sup>24</sup> M4: *om. devā*

bahūdhaññā janā<sup>1</sup> bahūsippā bahuñāṇino kasivanijjādini karontā bhiyyoso mattāya vaḍhanti<sup>2</sup> evaṃ pi bahūpuññā devā<sup>3</sup> dānasilādini karontā uddhamsoṭā vaḍhanti<sup>4</sup> yāva nibbānan<sup>5</sup> ti.<sup>5</sup> taṃ sutvā thero pasīditvā Sujampatiṃ<sup>6</sup> pucchi “mahārāja, sabbe devā bhagavato<sup>7</sup> cetiyaṃ vanditum āgatā; kim Ariyametteyyo bodhisatto āgamissati” ti.<sup>8</sup> “āma, bhante” ti. “kadā āgamissati” ti.<sup>9</sup> “bhante, aṭṭhamiyaṃ vā cātuddasiyaṃ vā<sup>10</sup> paṇṇarasiyaṃ vā Metteyyo cetiyaṃ vanditum<sup>11</sup> āgato” ti. “tena hi ajja aṭṭhamiyaṃ kim so āgamissati” ti.<sup>12</sup> “āma, bhante” ti.<sup>13</sup> evaṃ<sup>14</sup> there Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente yeva<sup>15</sup> eko devaputto sataparivārehi saddhiṃ cetiyaṃ vandanaṭṭhāya āgato. thero taṃ devaputtam āgataṃ<sup>16</sup> disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi<sup>17</sup> “devarāja, ayaṃ kim Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti.<sup>18</sup> “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,

<sup>1</sup> M2: *om. janā*

<sup>2</sup> M3: *bhiññoso mattāya vadanti*

<sup>3</sup> M3: *janā*; M4: *om. devā*

<sup>4</sup> M2: *vaḍḍhanti*; M3: *vadanti*

<sup>5</sup> M4: *yā(va) nibbān ti*

<sup>6</sup> M4: *Sujappatiṃ (M4 almost always uses this form, which will no longer be noted)*

<sup>7</sup> M3: *bhagavato (sic)*

<sup>8</sup> M3: *āgamissati ti*

<sup>9</sup> M2: *kadāgamissati ti*; M3: *kadāgamissati ti*; M4: *kadāci āgamissati ti*

<sup>10</sup> M3 & M4: *cātuddasiyaṃ*

<sup>11</sup> M3: *vanditu*; M4: *vandhitum*

<sup>12</sup> M3: *aṭṭhamiyaṃ va so āgato ti*

<sup>13</sup> M3: *om. āma bhante ti*

<sup>14</sup> M2: *evaṃ theram Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente*; M3: *thero Sakkena saddhiṃ kathento*; M4: *therena Sakkena saddhiṃ kathente*

<sup>15</sup> M3: *taṃ khaṇaṃ ñeva eko devaputto sataparivāro cetiyaṃ ...*

<sup>16</sup> M3: *āgattam*; M4: *ā(ga)taṃ*

<sup>17</sup> M3: *om. Sujampatiṃ and puts pucchi at the end of the sentence*; M4: *om. Sujampatiṃ*

<sup>18</sup> M2: *kim ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo bodhisatto ti*; M3: *ayaṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto ti*; M4: *ayaṃ so Metteyyo bodhisatto ti*

ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ ācikkhanto<sup>1</sup> imaṃ gātham āha:

bhante<sup>2</sup> so mānuse jāto<sup>3</sup> daliddo<sup>4</sup> tiṇṇahārako<sup>5</sup>  
bhattachapūtaṃ ca<sup>6</sup> bhuñjitvā kāke dajj’ ekapiṇḍikaṃ<sup>7</sup>  
ettakaṃ puññakammaṃ pi katvā so mānuse pana<sup>8</sup>  
maraṇante saritvā taṃ<sup>9</sup> tena so upapajjati ti.

tena vuttaṃ:

kākadike tiracchāne dānaṃ datvāna koci pi  
tass’ eva dānassa phalaṃ satam labhati dāyako ti.

so devaputto āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā pācīnadisābhāge nisīdi.<sup>10</sup> tadanantare eko devaputto saḥassaparivārehi<sup>11</sup> saddhim āgantvā bhagavato cetiyaṃ pūjanatthāya sarīrobhasena sabbā disā obhāseti.<sup>12</sup> thero taṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi<sup>13</sup> “devarāja, ayaṃ kiṃ<sup>14</sup> Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ ācikkhanto<sup>15</sup> imaṃ gātham āha:

bhante so mānuse jāto Gopālo nāma māṇavo<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M2: pakāsetvā; M3: āvikaronto

<sup>2</sup> M2: *puts here a part of the text which appears later in the other manuscripts*

<sup>3</sup> M2 & M4: manussajāto; M3: mānaso jāto

<sup>4</sup> M3: dalido; M4: daliddho

<sup>5</sup> M4: tiṇṇahārako

<sup>6</sup> M3: bhatam pūtaṃ ca

<sup>7</sup> M4: daj’ ekapiṇḍikaṃ

<sup>8</sup> M2: so mānusse pana; M3: so manuso puna; M4: so manusso (pu)na

<sup>9</sup> M3: saritvāna

<sup>10</sup> M3: aṭṭhāsi tadanantare nisīdi

<sup>11</sup> M3: saḥassaparivāre

<sup>12</sup> M3: sabbadisā obhāseti

<sup>13</sup> M3: Sujampati pucchi

<sup>14</sup> M3: *om. kiṃ*

<sup>15</sup> M3: āvikaronto

<sup>16</sup> M3 & M4: māṇavo

bhuñjanto attano bhāgaṃ<sup>1</sup> deti gopālakassa ca<sup>2</sup>  
tena dānena so jāto saḥassaparivārito<sup>3</sup>  
cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya saḥassen’ eva<sup>4</sup> āgato ti.

tena vuttaṃ:

asīle appapuññesu<sup>5</sup> dānaṃ datvāna koci pi  
tass’ eva dānassa phalaṃ saḥassaṃ paṭilabhati ti.

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā pacchimadisābhāge nisīdi.<sup>6</sup> aparo devaputto dasasahassaparivārehi<sup>7</sup> āgantvā mahantena sarīrobhāsenā<sup>8</sup> sakala-cetiyaṃ aṇḍalam obhāseti.<sup>9</sup> thero taṃ<sup>10</sup> āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ kiṃ devaputto<sup>11</sup> Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,<sup>12</sup> mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “mahārāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa<sup>13</sup> puññakammaṃ kathento<sup>14</sup> imaṃ gātham āha:

bhikkhaṃ<sup>15</sup> datvā pure bhante sāmaṇerassa sīlino<sup>16</sup>  
tena puññavipākena cavitvā saggaṃ āgato ti.<sup>17</sup>

tena vuttaṃ:

<sup>1</sup> M2: bhaggaṃ; M3: bhattaṃ; M4: bhagaṃ

<sup>2</sup> M4: gopālassa ca

<sup>3</sup> M4: saḥassaparivāro

<sup>4</sup> M3: saḥassen’ eva

<sup>5</sup> M3: asīlesu appuññesu

<sup>6</sup> M3: aṭṭhāsi

<sup>7</sup> M2: *adds* saddhim; M3: dasasahassaparivāro

<sup>8</sup> M2: tisarīrobhāsenā; M3: sarīrobhasena

<sup>9</sup> M3: obhāsetvā

<sup>10</sup> M[*number omitted in Denis’ ms.*]: *om. tam*

<sup>11</sup> M2: *om. kiṃ*; M3 & M4: *om. kiṃ devaputto*

<sup>12</sup> M3 & M4: kattaṃ

<sup>13</sup> M2: *adds* vacanaṃ sutvā

<sup>14</sup> M2: ācikkhanto

<sup>15</sup> M3: bhattaṃ

<sup>16</sup> M3: sīlavanto

<sup>17</sup> M3: idha-m-āgato

puthujane<sup>1</sup> sīlavante dānaṃ datvāna koci pi  
tass' eva dasasahassaṃ phalaṃ labhati dāyako ti.<sup>2</sup>

so āgantvā<sup>3</sup> cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandha-  
mālādīhi pūjetvā<sup>4</sup> dakkhiṇadisābhāge nisīdi.<sup>5</sup> aparō devaputto vīsati-  
sahassaparivārehi<sup>6</sup> āgantvā mahantena sarīrobhāsena ābharaṇena<sup>7</sup> ca  
ākāsamaṇḍalam obhāseti.<sup>8</sup> thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi  
“devarāja,<sup>9</sup> ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo<sup>10</sup> bodhisatto” ti. “n' eso,  
bhante” ti. “katamo,<sup>11</sup> mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja,  
ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa  
puññaṃkammaṃ pakāseto<sup>12</sup> imaṃ gāthaṃ āha:

bhikkhaṃ datvā tadā eso piṇḍapātikabhikkhuno<sup>13</sup>  
ten' eva puññaṃkammaṃ cavitvā saggam āgato ti.<sup>14</sup>

tena vuttaṃ:

bhikkhuno sīlavantassa<sup>15</sup> dānaṃ datvāna koci pi  
tass' eva vīsatisahassaṃ<sup>16</sup> phalaṃ labhati dāyako ti.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M2 & M4: puthujjane

<sup>2</sup> M3: tass' eva dānaphalaṃ dasasahassaṃ labhati

<sup>3</sup> M2: gantvā

<sup>4</sup> M4: adds ca

<sup>5</sup> M3: aṭṭhāsi

<sup>6</sup> M3: parivā(re)hi

<sup>7</sup> M3: om. ābharaṇena

<sup>8</sup> M3: obhāsetvā; M4: obhāseti ti

<sup>9</sup> M2: devarāja

<sup>10</sup> M3: om. devaputto Ariya-; M4: om. devaputto

<sup>11</sup> M3: kattamo

<sup>12</sup> M3: kathento; M4: pa(saṃ)sento

<sup>13</sup> M2, M3 & M4: piṇḍipātikabhikkhuno

<sup>14</sup> M3: idha-m-āgato; M4: saggam āgato 'sī ti

<sup>15</sup> M4: sillavantassa

<sup>16</sup> M4: adds parivāro

<sup>17</sup> M3: vīsatiṇṇasahassaṃ pi phalaṃ labbhati dāyako

so āgantvā<sup>1</sup> cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā  
uttaradisābhage nisīdi.<sup>2</sup> tadā eko devaputto tiṃsasahassaparivārehi<sup>3</sup>  
cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi  
“devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto Ariyametteyyo<sup>4</sup> bodhisatto” ti. “n' eso,  
bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārāja” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.<sup>5</sup> “devarāja,  
ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa<sup>6</sup>  
puññaṃkammaṃ kathento āha<sup>7</sup>:

Anurādhapure pubbe sucikammaṃ jīvati  
bahūpuññaṃkaro<sup>8</sup> eso tantavāyo ti vissuto.<sup>9</sup>  
matakānaṃ sarīraṇi<sup>10</sup> jhāpetvāna taṃ taṃ  
tam uddissa dakkhiṇaṃ ca sīlavantesu deti so<sup>11</sup>  
bhesajjaṃ piṇḍipātaṃ ca<sup>12</sup> cīvaram sayanāsaṇaṃ.<sup>13</sup>  
ten' eva puññaṃkammaṃ<sup>14</sup> uppajji tidase pure ti.<sup>15</sup>

so āgantvā<sup>16</sup> cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandha-  
mālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare nisīdi. atha<sup>17</sup> aparō devaputto cattālīsa-

<sup>1</sup> M2: gantvā

<sup>2</sup> M3: aṭṭhāsi

<sup>3</sup> M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the phrase

<sup>4</sup> M3: om. devaputto Ariya-; M4: om. devaputto

<sup>5</sup> M3: bhante

<sup>6</sup> M3: devaputtassa

<sup>7</sup> M3: puts here the verses Haritālo mahāsetṭhi ... etc. which, in the other  
manuscripts, appear on page 30

<sup>8</sup> M3: bahūpuññaṃ karo

<sup>9</sup> M3: visutto

<sup>10</sup> M3: sarire; M4: sarīraṇi ca

<sup>11</sup> M3: tam uddissa yathā puññaṃ silavante yajeti so; M4: tam uddissa yathā  
yaññaṃ silante yajeti so

<sup>12</sup> M3: piṇḍipātaṃ ca yajitvāna; M4: piṇḍipātaṃ ca datvā

<sup>13</sup> M3: sayanāsaṇaṃ

<sup>14</sup> M3: bhikkhunaṃ silavantānaṃ; M4: bhikkhunaṃ sillavantānaṃ

<sup>15</sup> M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

<sup>16</sup> M3 & M4: add bhagavato

<sup>17</sup> M3: om. atha; M4: athako

sahassaparivārehi<sup>1</sup> cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.<sup>2</sup> thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatim pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto<sup>3</sup> Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,<sup>4</sup> mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.<sup>5</sup> “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa<sup>6</sup> puññakammaṃ kathento<sup>7</sup> āha:

Haritālo<sup>8</sup> mahāsetthi Haritāle ca gāmake  
cāgavā<sup>9</sup> sīlasampanno siddhājivena<sup>10</sup> jīvati.  
sīlavantesu bhesajjaṃ cīvaraṃ pānabhojanaṃ  
datvā kammavipākena uppajji tidase pure ti.<sup>11</sup>

so āgantvā bhagavato cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare<sup>12</sup> nisīdi. aparō<sup>13</sup> devaputto<sup>14</sup> paññāsa-sahassaparivārehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.<sup>15</sup> thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatim pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto<sup>16</sup> Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo,<sup>17</sup> mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke<sup>18</sup> kim akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

<sup>1</sup> M4: caḷisa; M2, M3 & M4: add āgantvā

<sup>2</sup> M3: om. āgato

<sup>3</sup> M3 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>4</sup> M3: kattamo

<sup>5</sup> M3: bhante

<sup>6</sup> M3: devaputtassa

<sup>7</sup> M2: karonto

<sup>8</sup> M4: Harittālo

<sup>9</sup> M2: cāturā; M4: pātavā

<sup>10</sup> M2 & M4: siddhājivena

<sup>11</sup> M2: uppajji va tidase pure ti; M3: upaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

<sup>12</sup> M4: tadanantare nisīdi

<sup>13</sup> M3: apparō

<sup>14</sup> M2: om. the following passage as far as Metteyyo bodhisatto ti

<sup>15</sup> M3: paññāsasahashehi āgantvā cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya; M4: paññāsasahashehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato

<sup>16</sup> M3 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>17</sup> M4: kattamo

<sup>18</sup> M2: manussaloke ti

Tāmbapaṇṇiyā dīpasmim<sup>1</sup> uppajjivā narādhipo<sup>2</sup>  
Abhayaduṭṭhassa bhātā<sup>3</sup> Saddhātisso ti nāmako<sup>4</sup>  
cittappasādo buddhe<sup>5</sup> ca dhamme saṅghe sagāraṃ  
pañcasīlaṃ uposathaṃ<sup>6</sup> katvā aṭṭhaṅg’ uposathaṃ  
sīlavantesu<sup>7</sup> dādānaṃ yācayogo amaccharā.<sup>8</sup>  
tena kammavipākena uppajji tidasālaye ti.<sup>9</sup>

so āgantvā<sup>10</sup> cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā tadanantare nisīdi. aparō devaputto<sup>11</sup> saṭṭhi-sahassaparivārehi<sup>12</sup> cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ disvā devarājānaṃ pucchi “mahārāja, ayaṃ devaputto<sup>13</sup> Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññan” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

Abhayaduṭṭho ti nāmena catupaccayadāyako<sup>14</sup>  
buddhe ca dhamme ca saṅghe ca sakkaccaṃ<sup>15</sup> payirupāsati.<sup>16</sup>  
tathāgatassa<sup>17</sup> so thūpaṃ<sup>18</sup> kārayi bodhiropaṇaṃ

<sup>1</sup> M2: Tāmbapaṇṇidīpasmim

<sup>2</sup> M3: upajjivā narādipo; M4: uppajjita narodipo

<sup>3</sup> M3: adds ca

<sup>4</sup> M4: nā(ma)ko

<sup>5</sup> M3: cittapasādena buddhe

<sup>6</sup> M2: uposathe; M3: pañcasile sayyamo niccaṃ; M4: pañcasile saññamo niccaṃ

<sup>7</sup> M3: sīlavantesu

<sup>8</sup> M3: yācayoga amaccharim

<sup>9</sup> M3: uppajja tidase pure

<sup>10</sup> M3: adds bhagavato

<sup>11</sup> M3: apparō and om. devaputto

<sup>12</sup> M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

<sup>13</sup> M3 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>14</sup> M3: catupaccayako

<sup>15</sup> M3: sakkaccaṃ

<sup>16</sup> M2: payirupāsati; M4: om. the line buddhe ca ... payirupāsati

<sup>17</sup> M4: tathāgatatassa

<sup>18</sup> M3: thūpaṃ so



mātāpitūnam atthāya bhikkhūnam deti dakkhiṇaṃ<sup>1</sup>  
 silavantesu<sup>2</sup> dādānaṃ yācakānaṃ anappakaṃ<sup>3</sup>  
 sādarena<sup>4</sup> cuto<sup>5</sup> tamhā uppajji tidasālaye ti.<sup>6</sup>

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atthadisāsu<sup>7</sup> vanditvā  
 gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā<sup>8</sup> tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto<sup>9</sup>  
 sattasahassaparivārehi<sup>10</sup> cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. thero taṃ āgataṃ  
 disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto<sup>11</sup> Metteyyo  
 bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro,  
 bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto pubbe<sup>12</sup> manussaloke kim akāsi  
 puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

sāmaṇero pure<sup>13</sup> āsi appamatto vicakkhaṇa<sup>14</sup>  
 buddhe dhamme ca saṃghe ca sakkaccaṃ payirupāsati.  
 uñhodakena sītena rattindivam atandito<sup>15</sup>  
 sammajjanīpadīpena<sup>16</sup> sadā saṃgham upatthahi.<sup>17</sup>  
 tena kammavipākena<sup>18</sup> uppajji tidase pure ti.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M3: bhikkhuyaññaṃ yajeti so

<sup>2</sup> M3 & M4: sillavantesu

<sup>3</sup> M3: yācakānaṃ vanibbake

<sup>4</sup> M3: sādarena

<sup>5</sup> M3: cutto

<sup>6</sup> M3: uppaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidasā(la)ye ti

<sup>7</sup> M2: attha(di)sāsu

<sup>8</sup> M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

<sup>9</sup> M3: om. devaputto

<sup>10</sup> M4: sattatisahasse(na); M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

<sup>11</sup> M2 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>12</sup> M3: om. devaputto pubbe; M2 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>13</sup> M2: om. pure

<sup>14</sup> M3: appamattā pur’ āsi patthigā

<sup>15</sup> M2: attandito

<sup>16</sup> M3: samajanīpadiyena; M4: samajanīpena

<sup>17</sup> M3: udakaseyyanāsaṇaṃ

<sup>18</sup> M3: tena vipākena

<sup>19</sup> M3: uppaja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

so āgantvā<sup>1</sup> cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atthadisāsu vanditvā  
 gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā<sup>2</sup> tadanantare nisīdi. tadā aparō<sup>3</sup> devaputto  
 asītisahassaparivārehi cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato.<sup>4</sup> thero taṃ āgataṃ<sup>5</sup>  
 disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto<sup>6</sup> Metteyyo  
 bodhisatto” ti. “n’ eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro,  
 bhante” ti. “devarāja ayaṃ<sup>7</sup> pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti.  
 Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento<sup>8</sup> āha:

duggatassa<sup>9</sup> kule jāto parādhinena<sup>10</sup> jīvati.  
 gocare ca bhikkhuṃ disvā<sup>11</sup> paragehesu tiṭṭhati<sup>12</sup>  
 gehasāmi ajānantaṃ<sup>13</sup> pabodhetvā subhāsita<sup>14</sup>:  
 silavanto ayyo sāmi<sup>15</sup> gharadvāresu<sup>16</sup> tiṭṭhati.  
 yathāladdhaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ<sup>17</sup> sādhuṃ dehi tādino.<sup>18</sup>  
 sutvāna gharasāmiko<sup>19</sup> piyen’ eva tam abravi:  
 sādhu tāta subhāsitaṃ<sup>20</sup> piṇḍapātaṃ<sup>21</sup> dadāmi ’haṃ;

<sup>1</sup> M2: so gantvā

<sup>2</sup> M3: adds bhagavato; M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

<sup>3</sup> M3: om. tadā; M3: apparō

<sup>4</sup> M3 & M4: asītisahassehi; M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

<sup>5</sup> M4: om. āgataṃ

<sup>6</sup> M3 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>7</sup> M2: adds devaputto

<sup>8</sup> M2: karonto

<sup>9</sup> M2: duttasa; M3: dugatassa

<sup>10</sup> M2 & M4: paradinnena

<sup>11</sup> M2: gocaraṃ bhikkhuṃ disvā; M3 & M4: bhikkhussa gocaraṃ disvā

<sup>12</sup> M2: tiṭṭhakaṃ

<sup>13</sup> M3: gehasāmi na jānti

<sup>14</sup> M2: subhāsito; M3: subāsita

<sup>15</sup> M3 & M4: ayyassa silavanto so

<sup>16</sup> M2: gharadhāresu

<sup>17</sup> M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

<sup>18</sup> M2 & M3: tādisaṃ; M4: tādise

<sup>19</sup> M3: sutvā gharassa sāmica

<sup>20</sup> M3 & M4: subhāsehi

<sup>21</sup> M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

piṇḍapātā<sup>271</sup> gahetvāna therassa upanāmayi.

etena vacībhedenā<sup>1</sup> uppajji tidase pure ti.<sup>2</sup>

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ<sup>3</sup> padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā<sup>4</sup> tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto navuttisahassaparivārehi<sup>5</sup> cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. therō taṃ āgataṃ<sup>6</sup> disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto<sup>7</sup> Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti.<sup>8</sup> “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti. “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto<sup>9</sup> pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

Tāmbapaṇṇiyā dipe so<sup>10</sup> Kaṇṇikārikagāmake<sup>11</sup>  
disvā tathāgataṃ thūpaṃ<sup>12</sup> kaṇṇikārena pūjayi  
cakkhudvayapadīpena<sup>13</sup> sirasā<sup>14</sup> pupphitena ca  
vacasā dhūpakārena<sup>15</sup> manasā va sugandhitā.<sup>16</sup>  
tena kammavipākena uppajji tidase pure ti.<sup>17</sup>

so āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā<sup>18</sup> tadanantare nisīdi. tadā eko devaputto

<sup>1</sup> M3: piyavādena

<sup>2</sup> M3: uppappajja tidase pure; M4: upajja tidase pure ti

<sup>3</sup> M3: om. cetiyaṃ

<sup>4</sup> M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

<sup>5</sup> M3 & M4: navuttisahassehi; M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

<sup>6</sup> M4: om. āgataṃ

<sup>7</sup> M3 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>8</sup> M2, M3 & M4: add n' eso bhante ti

<sup>9</sup> M3: om. ayaṃ devaputto; M4: om. devaputto

<sup>10</sup> M3: Tāmbapaṇṇadipe ca so

<sup>11</sup> M2: Kaṇṇikārikagāmake; M3: Kaṇṇikāre gāmake; M4: Kaṇṇikāre ca gāmake

<sup>12</sup> M2 & M4: tathāgataṃ thūpaṃ

<sup>13</sup> M2: cakkhudvayaṃ; M3: nayanajalapadīpena

<sup>14</sup> M2: sirisā; M3: sirisā dipena ca

<sup>15</sup> M3: adds ca

<sup>16</sup> M4: sugandhakā

<sup>17</sup> M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppajja tidase pure ti

<sup>18</sup> M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

satasahassaparivārehi<sup>1</sup> cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya āgato. therō taṃ āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja, ayaṃ devaputto<sup>2</sup> Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “n' eso, bhante” ti. “katamo, mahārājā” ti. “aññataro, bhante” ti.<sup>3</sup> “devarāja ayaṃ devaputto<sup>4</sup> pubbe manussaloke kim akāsi puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tassa puññakammaṃ kathento<sup>5</sup> āha:

Anurādhapure pubbe daliddo<sup>6</sup> tiṇahārako<sup>7</sup>

pāṇātipātā virato<sup>8</sup> kalyāṇo saraṇe ṭhito.

tiṇakatthaṃ haritvāna<sup>9</sup> sammājīvena<sup>10</sup> jīvati.

aparena samayena<sup>11</sup> nadiṃ gacchati ekako

rajataṃ vālukaṃ<sup>12</sup> disvā viyūhitvāna so tadā<sup>13</sup>

cetiyaṃ pi karitvāna sumano etad abravi<sup>14</sup>:

aho subhaṃ<sup>15</sup> vata cetiyaṃ me<sup>16</sup> veduriyavaṇṇaruciraṃ

pabhassaraṃ<sup>17</sup> aggi yathā pajjalitena<sup>18</sup> susubhaṃ

hadayaṅgamaṃ<sup>19</sup> vicittakaṃ ulāraṃ.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M3 & M4: satasahasseehi; M3: adds āgantvā and om. āgato at the end of the sentence

<sup>2</sup> M3 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>3</sup> M3: om. aññataro bhante ti

<sup>4</sup> M3 & M4: om. devaputto

<sup>5</sup> M3: om. kathento

<sup>6</sup> M4: dalido

<sup>7</sup> M3: parādikkhamukule āhu

<sup>8</sup> M3: viratto

<sup>9</sup> M3: tiṇṇakatthaṃ gahetvāna

<sup>10</sup> M3: sammā jīvena

<sup>11</sup> M3: tadāparena samayena; M4: tadā aparena samayena

<sup>12</sup> M3: bāhukaṃ; M4: bālukaṃ

<sup>13</sup> M4: om. viyūhitvāna so tadā

<sup>14</sup> M2: etam abravi; M3: eta bravi

<sup>15</sup> M3: surūpaṃ

<sup>16</sup> M4: om. me

<sup>17</sup> M2: pabhassavaraṃ

<sup>18</sup> M2: ambhaggi yathā pajjalitena

<sup>19</sup> M3: lobhaṃ hadayaṃ

<sup>20</sup> M4: (vi)cittakaṃ olaraṃ

vandāmi<sup>1</sup> cetiyaṃ vamaṃ bāluka<sup>2</sup> pakataṃ mayā.

kāyena vacā manasā saha puppehi pūjayi.

sīlavante bharitvā<sup>3</sup> yathāladhamṃ dadāti<sup>4</sup> so.

tena kammavipākena uppajji tidaśālaye ti.<sup>5</sup>

so pi<sup>6</sup> āgantvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā<sup>7</sup>  
gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā<sup>8</sup> tadanantare nisīdi.

evaṃ dvādasahi devaputtehi upalakkhitaṃ<sup>9</sup> pathamaṃ Māleyyavattumaṃ  
samattaṃ.

tadā Ariyametteyyo<sup>10</sup> bodhisatto dasasatakiraṇaṇisākarapabhāṭireka-  
pabhāvirājitehi koṭisatasahassasurayuvatisuraputtehi parivārito tārā-  
gaṇehi parivārito<sup>11</sup> jaladharapatalavirahitasaradasamayākāsasamuggato  
paripuṇṇacandamaṇḍalo viya virocamaṇo<sup>12</sup> dipadhūpagandhamālādīhi<sup>13</sup>  
gāhāpetvā Tusitabhavanato otarivā<sup>14</sup> cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya sakala-  
tidasapuraṃ<sup>15</sup> dibbobhāsena obhāsento<sup>16</sup> dibbagandhehi pavāyanto<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M3 & M4: vandhāmi

<sup>2</sup> M2, M3 & M4: bālukaṃ

<sup>3</sup> M2: bharitvā; M3: sillavante; M4: silavantam

<sup>4</sup> M3: dadāmi

<sup>5</sup> M2: uppajji tidase pure ti; M3: uppajja tidase pure; M4: uppaje tidaśālaye ti

<sup>6</sup> M3: om. pi

<sup>7</sup> M2: vanditvāna; M4: vandhitvā

<sup>8</sup> M3: om. gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā

<sup>9</sup> M2: upalikkhitum

<sup>10</sup> M3: om. ariya

<sup>11</sup> M4: om. tārāgaṇehi parivārito; M3: koṭisatasahashehi devagaṇehi parivārito *in place of* dasasatakiraṇa ... tārāgaṇehi parivārito

<sup>12</sup> M3: om. jaladharapatala ... virocamaṇo

<sup>13</sup> M2, M3 & M4: ... mālādīni

<sup>14</sup> M2: otarivā; M3: *replaces* cetiyaṃ vandanatthāya ... koṭīhi parivārito *by* parivārādasento āha

<sup>15</sup> M4: sākalatida(sa)puraṃ

<sup>16</sup> M2: dibbobhāsantā

<sup>17</sup> M2: vāyanto

anopamāya sakapakatililāya anopamena sakapakatisirivilāsena  
cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ āgantvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā<sup>1</sup> aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā pūjetvā  
pācinadisābhāge<sup>2</sup> nisīdi.

tena vuttaṃ:

tadā Ariyametteyyo koṭīhi parivārito.<sup>3</sup>

purato ca satam kaññā pacchato accharā satam

dakkhiṇato satam kaññā vāmato<sup>4</sup> accharā satam.

tāsam majjhe ca<sup>5</sup> Metteyyo tārā majjhe va candimā.<sup>6</sup>

dibbaccharānaṃ raṃsīhi tāsam ābharaṇassa<sup>7</sup> ca

jotayanti disā sabbā<sup>8</sup> koṭicandappabhā viyā ti.<sup>9</sup>

thero bodhisattaṃ dūrato<sup>10</sup> āgataṃ disvā Sujampatiṃ pucchi “devarāja,<sup>11</sup>  
ayaṃ Metteyyo bodhisatto” ti. “āma, bhante” ti. “devarāja, etā<sup>12</sup>  
devakaññā Metteyyassa purato āgatā<sup>13</sup> setaraṃsā<sup>14</sup> setavatthā  
setābharaṇā pubbe manussaloke kim akaṃsu<sup>15</sup> puññaṃ” ti. Sakko tāsam  
puññaṃkammaṃ kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā mānusa<sup>16</sup>

uposathamhi divase puññaṃ dānādikaṃ<sup>17</sup> karā

setavattham setamālaṃ setagandhavilepanaṃ

<sup>1</sup> M4: om. padakkhiṇaṃ katvā

<sup>2</sup> M2: bhāgena

<sup>3</sup> M2: koṭīh’ imo satasahasaparivārehi

<sup>4</sup> M3: bāto

<sup>5</sup> M4: va

<sup>6</sup> M4: candhimā

<sup>7</sup> M2 & M4: ābharassa

<sup>8</sup> M4: jotayanti sabbā disā

<sup>9</sup> M2: koṭicandappa viyā ti [*thus in Denis’ ms.*]; M4: koṭicandhappabha viyā ti

<sup>10</sup> M3: durataṃ

<sup>11</sup> M3: om. rāja

<sup>12</sup> M3: ayaṃ etā

<sup>13</sup> M2: āgato; M3: gatā

<sup>14</sup> M4: setaraṃsā

<sup>15</sup> M2: akimsu; M3 & M4: akāsi

<sup>16</sup> M2 & M4: manussake; M3: manussaloke

<sup>17</sup> M2: puññādānādikaṃ; M4: puññaṃ dhanādikaṃ

setam āhāraṇaṃ<sup>1</sup> datvā buddhasettḥassa bhikkhuno.<sup>2</sup>

ten' eva puññakammena<sup>3</sup> Metteyyapūrato gatā ti.<sup>4</sup>

thero taṃ sutvā<sup>5</sup> tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ paṣaṃsanto<sup>6</sup> puna Sujampatiṃ  
pucchi “devarāja, etā<sup>7</sup> devakaññā Metteyyassa dakkhiṇapassena āgatā<sup>8</sup>  
pītaraṃsā pītavattā pītābharaṇālaṅkatā<sup>9</sup> pubbe manussaloke kim  
akāṃsu<sup>10</sup> puññān” ti. Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā manusake<sup>11</sup>

uposathamhi divase puññaṃ silādikaṃ<sup>12</sup> karā

pītavattā<sup>13</sup> pītāmālaṃ pītāgandhavilepanaṃ

pītā āhāraṇaṃ datvā buddhasettḥassa bhikkhuno.

ten' eva<sup>14</sup> puññakammena Metteyyadakkhiṇā gatā ti.<sup>15</sup>

thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ paṣaṃsanto<sup>16</sup> puna devarājānaṃ<sup>17</sup>  
pucchi “devarāja, etā<sup>18</sup> devakaññā vāmapassena āgatā rattaraṃsā<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M3: seta-āhāraṇaṃ; M4: setāhāraṇaṃ

<sup>2</sup> M3: bhikkhūno

<sup>3</sup> M2: tena puññavipākena

<sup>4</sup> M3: Metteyyapūrato gatā

<sup>5</sup> M4: (sut)vā

<sup>6</sup> M3: paṣaṃsati; M4: pa(saṃ)santo

<sup>7</sup> M3: ayaṃ etā

<sup>8</sup> M2: gatā

<sup>9</sup> M2 & M4: pītābharaṇālaṅkatā; M3: pītābharaṇāni pītakarā devānaṃ

<sup>10</sup> M2: akāsu; M3 & M4: akāsi

<sup>11</sup> M2 & M3: mānussaloke; M4: mānusake

<sup>12</sup> M2: mālādikaṃ

<sup>13</sup> M3 & M4: pita is always written with short i in this passage

<sup>14</sup> M2: tena

<sup>15</sup> M3: Metteyyassa dakkhiṇāgatā

<sup>16</sup> M3: paṣaṃsati; M4: karonto (= kathento ?)

<sup>17</sup> M2: Sujampatiṃ pucchi; M3: sudevarājānaṃ pucchi

<sup>18</sup> M3: ayaṃ etā

<sup>19</sup> M3: ratarasā

rattavattā rattābharaṇā<sup>1</sup> pubbe manussaloke kim akāṃsu<sup>2</sup> puññān” ti.

Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ<sup>3</sup> kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā<sup>4</sup> sabbā pubbe<sup>5</sup> jātā manusake<sup>6</sup>

uposathamhi divase sutvā dhammaṃ supūjita<sup>7</sup>

rattavattāṃ rattamālaṃ rattagandhavilepanaṃ

rattā āhāraṇaṃ datvā buddhasettḥassa bhikkhuno<sup>8</sup>

ratanattayaṃ<sup>9</sup> pūjesuṃ Metteyyavāmato gatā ti<sup>10</sup>

thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ<sup>11</sup> puññakammaṃ paṣaṃsanto<sup>12</sup> puna Sujampatiṃ  
pucchi<sup>13</sup> “devarāja, etā<sup>14</sup> devakaññā<sup>15</sup> pacchimapassena āgatā sāmaraṃsā

sāmavattā sāmabharaṇā<sup>16</sup> pubbe manussaloke kim akāṃsu<sup>17</sup> puññān” ti.

Sakko tāsāṃ puññakammaṃ kathento āha:

bhante devaccharā sabbā pubbe jātā manusake<sup>18</sup>

uposathamhi divase sutvā dhammaṃ supūjita<sup>19</sup>

sāmavattāṃ sāmamālaṃ<sup>20</sup> sāmāgandhavilepanaṃ

<sup>1</sup> M3: rattābharaṇāni ratikarā devānaṃ

<sup>2</sup> M3: akāsi

<sup>3</sup> M4: karonto (= kathento ?)

<sup>4</sup> M3: devapurā

<sup>5</sup> M2: om. pubbe

<sup>6</sup> M2: mānussake; M3: manussaloke; M4: mānusake

<sup>7</sup> M2: supūjetvā; M3: supūjitaṃ

<sup>8</sup> M3: om. this verse

<sup>9</sup> M2, M3 & M4: rattanattayaṃ

<sup>10</sup> M3: Metteyyavāmato āgatā

<sup>11</sup> M2: om. tāsāṃ

<sup>12</sup> M3: paṣaṃsati; M4: pa(saṃ)santo

<sup>13</sup> M2: om. pucchi

<sup>14</sup> M3: ayaṃ etā

<sup>15</sup> M4: devakaññāyo

<sup>16</sup> M3: sāmabharaṇāni sāmāpitikarā devānaṃ

<sup>17</sup> M3: akāsi

<sup>18</sup> M2 & M3: manussaloke; M4: manussake

<sup>19</sup> M2: supūjito

<sup>20</sup> M3: sāmavattā sāmamālā sāmāgandhavilepanaṃ; M4: sāmavattā sāmamālaṃ, and om. sāmāgandhavilepanaṃ



sāmaṃ āhāraṃ datvā buddhaseṭṭhassa bhikkhuno.<sup>1</sup>  
saṃyamā saṃvibhātā ca<sup>2</sup> Metteyyapacchato gatā ti.<sup>3</sup>

thero taṃ sutvā tāsāṃ<sup>4</sup> puññakammaṃ pasamsanto<sup>5</sup> puna Sujampatiṃ<sup>6</sup>  
pucchi “devarāja,<sup>7</sup> Metteyyo īdisaṃ<sup>8</sup> sampattiṃ labhati. kiṃ pana  
puññam akāsi” ti.<sup>9</sup> Sakko Metteyyassa<sup>10</sup> puññam saṃkhepena  
sāgarāṭṭikkamanasasopamāya<sup>11</sup> pabbatārohanandhopamāya<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>13</sup> paññāya  
pakāsetvā puna saddhādhikapaññādhikaviriyādhikasamkhātānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ  
anappakappopacitakāyavacimāno<sup>14</sup> paṇihitatividhasucarita-  
cadhanapariccāga<sup>15</sup>-puttapariccāga<sup>16</sup>-bhariyāpariccāga-aṅgapariccāga-  
jīvitapariccāga-samkhātadānapārami<sup>17</sup> tadanurūpasīlanekkhama-  
paññāviriyakhantisaccādiṭṭhānamettupekkhā ti dasapārami<sup>18</sup> dasa<sup>19</sup>-  
upapārami<sup>20</sup> dasaparamatthapārami ti sama<sup>21</sup>-tiṃsapāramiyo puritānaṃ

<sup>1</sup> M3: *om. this verse*

<sup>2</sup> M3: sayamālavibhātāya; M4: saññamā saṃvibhātā ca

<sup>3</sup> M2: Metteyyassa pacchato gatā ti; M3: Metteyyapacchato gatā

<sup>4</sup> M2: *om. tāsāṃ*

<sup>5</sup> M3: pasamsati

<sup>6</sup> M2: *adds ca*

<sup>7</sup> M3: *the following passage as far as ahaṃ jambūdīpāgato 'mhi mahārājā ti is quite different. It is hard to read and what I have been able to decipher is added at the end of the variant readings. See Appendix A.*

<sup>8</sup> M2: tadisaṃ

<sup>9</sup> M2 & M4: akāsi

<sup>10</sup> M[*number omitted in Denis' ms.*]: *adds va*

<sup>11</sup> M2: sāgarattikkamana-; M4: sāgarattikkamana-

<sup>12</sup> M2: pabbatārohandhopamāya

<sup>13</sup> M2 & M4: *add attano*

<sup>14</sup> M2: vacimanto

<sup>15</sup> M2: pañcamahāpariccāga *instead of dhanapariccāga which is included in the list lower down*; M4: *always writes pariccāga*

<sup>16</sup> M2: *adds dhanapariccāga*

<sup>17</sup> M2: pāramita; M4: saṃkhātāni dānapārami

<sup>18</sup> M2: mettapekkhātidasapārami; M4: metta-upekkhātidasapārami

<sup>19</sup> M4: *om. dasa*

<sup>20</sup> M4: u(pa)pārami

<sup>21</sup> M2: *om. sama*

bodhisattānaṃ viriyādhikabodhisatto ariyaMetteyyo bodhisatto ti  
pakāsento imā gāthayo āha:

Metteyyo bodhisatto hi<sup>1</sup> katvā puññāni nekadhā  
seṭṭhasabbaññūbuddhehi na sakkā tāni vaṇṇitum<sup>2</sup>  
ekadese na vuttāni saso<sup>3</sup> sāgarattikkamo  
andho va pabbatāroho patiṭṭhaṃ na labhissati.<sup>4</sup>  
tathā Metteyyo puññāni<sup>5</sup> anantāparimāṇakā  
anappakappe sambhāre sambhāritvāna sabbaso.  
tayo hi bodhisattāsum<sup>6</sup> eko thāmādiko mato<sup>7</sup>  
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa<sup>8</sup>  
pūretvā parami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ;  
eko saddhādhiko mato pākaṭo idha mānuse<sup>9</sup>  
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni aṭṭha pi<sup>10</sup>  
pūretvā pārami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ;  
eko paññādhiko mato pākaṭo idha mānuse<sup>11</sup>  
kappasatasahassāni cattāri ca<sup>12</sup> asaṃkheyyāni  
pūretvā parami sabbā patto sambodhim uttamaṃ.  
Metteyyo bodhisatto hi<sup>13</sup> tesam thāmādhiko mato<sup>14</sup>  
kappasatasahassāni asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa

<sup>1</sup> M4: pi

<sup>2</sup> M4: vaṇṇetum

<sup>3</sup> M2: *adds va*

<sup>4</sup> M4: labhissāmi ti

<sup>5</sup> M2: Metteyyapuññāni; M4: Metteyyassa puññāni

<sup>6</sup> M2: bodhisattesu

<sup>7</sup> M2: eko ca viriyādhiko matto (*always written thus in M2*); M4: *om. the passage up to eko saddhādhiko mato*

<sup>8</sup> M2: soḷasi

<sup>9</sup> M2: mānusse; M4: mānuse

<sup>10</sup> M2: asaṃkheyyāni aṭṭhi pi

<sup>11</sup> M2: mānusse; M4: manu(se)

<sup>12</sup> M2 & M4: *om. ca*

<sup>13</sup> M2: tu

<sup>14</sup> M2: tesahaviriyādhiko matto; M4: *replaces this verse with viriyādhika-Metteyyo tesu thāmādiko mato*

pūretvā pāramī sabbā<sup>1</sup> Tusite upapajjati.<sup>2</sup>  
 cavitvāna tato kāyā sambodhiṃ pāpuṇissatī ti.  
 evaṃ Sakkena<sup>3</sup> saddhiṃ there kathente yeva Metteyyo cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ<sup>4</sup>  
 āgantvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādīhi pūjetvā  
 pañcaṅgapatitṭhitaṇa vanditvā pācīnadisābhāge<sup>5</sup> nisīdi. bodhisatto tattha  
 nisinnaṃ therāṃ vanditvā pucchi “kuto āgato si, bhante” ti.<sup>6</sup> “ahaṃ  
 Jambūtipāyato ’mhi,<sup>7</sup> mahārājā” ti. “bhante, Jambūtipamanussānaṃ  
 kiṃ vattamānaṃ” ti.<sup>8</sup> therō bodhisattassa paṇhaṃ kathento āha:

sabbe te manussā tattha sakakammena<sup>9</sup> jīvītā<sup>10</sup>  
 samiddhā ca daliddā ca<sup>11</sup> sukkhitā dukkhitā pi<sup>12</sup> ca  
 abhirūpā virūpā ca<sup>13</sup> dighāyukā appāyukā.<sup>14</sup>  
 samiddhā appakā honti daliddā<sup>15</sup> ca bahūjanā;  
 sukkhitā appakā honti<sup>16</sup> dukkhitā ca<sup>17</sup> bahūjanā;  
 surūpā appakā<sup>18</sup> honti virūpā ca<sup>19</sup> bahūjanā;  
 dighāyukā appakā honti appāyukā ca<sup>20</sup> bahūjanā.

<sup>1</sup> M2: sambodhiṃ

<sup>2</sup> M2: Tussitaṃ uppapajji; M4: Tussitaṃ uppapajjati

<sup>3</sup> M2: Sakena

<sup>4</sup> M2: cetiyaṅgaṇe; M4: *omits this passage up to and including* nisinnaṃ

<sup>5</sup> M2: bhāgena

<sup>6</sup> M3: bhante kuto āgato ti

<sup>7</sup> M4: Jambūgato ’mhi

<sup>8</sup> M4: vattamāna ti

<sup>9</sup> M2: sakammena

<sup>10</sup> M2 & M4: jīvanti; M3: jīvātā

<sup>11</sup> M4: samiddhā ca daliddhā ca

<sup>12</sup> M3: sukkhitā pi ca (*om. dukkhitā*)

<sup>13</sup> M3: abhirūpā pi ca (*om. virūpā*)

<sup>14</sup> M2: appāyukā; M3: dighāyu(kā) appakāyukā

<sup>15</sup> M3: daliddā; M4: daliddhā

<sup>16</sup> M3: sukkhitā a(ppa)kā honti

<sup>17</sup> M2: *om. ca*

<sup>18</sup> M3: appa(kā)

<sup>19</sup> M2: *om. ca*

<sup>20</sup> M4: *om. ca*; M3: appā(yukā)

manussā appakā honti tiracchānā bahūtarā<sup>1</sup>;  
 tasmā vadāmi ’haṃ sabbe sakakammena<sup>2</sup> jīvītā ti.<sup>3</sup>

bodhisatto therassa vacanaṃ sutvā “bhante, Jambūtipamanussā kiṃ  
 bahūpuññāni<sup>4</sup> karonti udāhu pāpāni” ti. “mahārāja,<sup>5</sup> puññaṃ karontā  
 appakā honti<sup>6</sup> pāpaṃ karontā bahutarā honti” ti.<sup>7</sup> “kiṃ puññaṃ  
 karontā,<sup>8</sup> bhante” ti. “mahārāja, Jambūtipamānussā keci dānaṃ denti  
 keci sīlaṃ rakkhanti keci dhammadānaṃ denti keci uposathaṃ karonti  
 keci buddhapatimaṃ karonti keci vihāraṃ karonti keci āvāsaṃ<sup>9</sup> karonti  
 keci vassāvāsaṃ denti<sup>10</sup> keci cīvaraṃ denti keci piṇḍapātaṃ<sup>11</sup> denti keci  
 bhesajjaṃ denti<sup>12</sup> keci bodhirukkhaṃ ropenti<sup>13</sup> keci thūpaṃ karonti<sup>14</sup> keci  
 cetiyaṃ karonti<sup>15</sup> keci ārāmaṃ karonti<sup>16</sup> keci setuṃ karonti keci  
 caṅkamaṃ karonti keci kūpaṃ khananti keci taṭākaṃ khananti<sup>17</sup> keci  
 parikkhāraṃ denti keci dasavidhaṃ dānaṃ denti<sup>18</sup> keci mātupitu-  
 upatthānaṃ karonti<sup>19</sup> keci kālakatānaṃ nātakānaṃ atthaya yaññaṃ<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M3: *om. this verse*

<sup>2</sup> M2: sakamena; M4: sakammena

<sup>3</sup> M2 & M3: jīvanti ti

<sup>4</sup> M3: *om. bahū*

<sup>5</sup> M4: *om. this phrase up to the second* mahārāja

<sup>6</sup> M3: *om. honti*

<sup>7</sup> M2 & M3: honti

<sup>8</sup> M3: *om. karontā*

<sup>9</sup> M3: ārāmaṃ; M4: *om. this phrase*

<sup>10</sup> M3: keci sīlaṃ karonti

<sup>11</sup> M3 & M4: piṇḍipātaṃ

<sup>12</sup> M3: *om. this phrase*

<sup>13</sup> M3: keci bodharopenti

<sup>14</sup> M3: *om. this phrase*

<sup>15</sup> M3: *om. the verbs of this phrase and the eight following phrases*; M4: *om. this phrase and the six following phrases*

<sup>16</sup> M3: āvāsaṃ

<sup>17</sup> M2: taṇākaṃ

<sup>18</sup> M3: dasavidadānaṃ

<sup>19</sup> M3: mātāpitu-upatthānaṃ

<sup>20</sup> M4: nātinaṃ aṭṭhaya yaññaṃ; M3: *om. this phrase*

karonti<sup>1</sup> keci ratanattayaṃ pūjenti keci puttāṃ pabbājenti keci dhammaputtāṃ pabbājenti<sup>2</sup> keci buddhapatimaṃ pūjenti evaṃ<sup>3</sup> sabbāni kusalakammāni Jambūdīpamanussā yathāsatiyathābalaṃ yathā-  
ajjhāsayāṃ karonti” ti kathesi.<sup>4</sup> “bhante, Jambūdīpamanussā evarūpāni puññāni katvā<sup>5</sup> kiṃ paṭṭhanaṃ karonti” ti.<sup>6</sup> thero tassa manussānaṃ panidhānaṃ karonti<sup>7</sup> āha:

deva te puññamattaṃ pi katvā kārenti vā pana  
paresaṃ vā anumodanti tuyhaṃ patthenti<sup>8</sup> bodhiyā:  
iminā katapuññena dānasīlādinaṃ pana<sup>9</sup>  
Metteyyass’ eva buddhassa dassanaṃ ca<sup>10</sup> labhāmhasa<sup>11</sup>;  
yāvānupajjate buddho Metteyyo devapūjito  
saṃsāre saṃsarantā pi<sup>12</sup> apāye na gamāmhasa.<sup>13</sup>  
Jambūdīpamanussā te puññaṃ katvā tadā pana  
evaṃ karimsu panidhiṃ<sup>14</sup> sabbatṭhānesu sabbadā ti.

bodhisatto Jambūdīpamanussānaṃ pavattiṃ sutvā somanassaṃ patto<sup>15</sup>  
hutvā<sup>16</sup> evaṃ āha “bhante, sabbe janā maṃ sabbaññūtaṃ pattāṃ  
daṭṭhūṃ<sup>17</sup> patthento<sup>18</sup> Mahāvessantarajātakaṃ ekadivase yeva

<sup>1</sup> M4: *adds two phrases here*: keci cetiyāṃ karonti keci ārāmaṃ karonti; M4 *ends here*

<sup>2</sup> M2: *om. this phrase*

<sup>3</sup> M3: *om. evaṃ*

<sup>4</sup> M2: katheti; M3: *om. kathesi*

<sup>5</sup> M3: bhante manussā evarūpāni karontā

<sup>6</sup> M3: kiṃ patthitaṃ kiṃ panidhānaṃ dakkhiṇodakaṃ pātetvā

<sup>7</sup> M2: kathento; M3: paṇidhikathento evaṃ āha

<sup>8</sup> M2: patthenti; M3: pattheti

<sup>9</sup> M3: dānaṃ sīlānaṃ pana

<sup>10</sup> M2: dassanaṃ ca

<sup>11</sup> M3: labhāmhasa

<sup>12</sup> M3: saṃsaranto pi

<sup>13</sup> M2: gamāmhasa

<sup>14</sup> M2 & M3: paṇidhi

<sup>15</sup> M2: somanussapatto; M3: somanassapatto

<sup>16</sup> M3: *om. hutvā*

<sup>17</sup> M2: sabbaññūtapattaṃ daṭṭhaṃ; M3: sabbaññūtadaṭṭhūṃ

pariniṭṭhitaṃ<sup>1</sup> suṇantu; saḥassapadīpena vā pūjetvā saḥassapadumena vā saḥassaniluppapalena vā saḥassa-indīvarena<sup>2</sup> vā saḥassa-maṇḍārapupphena<sup>3</sup> vā saḥassa-ummārapupphena<sup>4</sup> vā saḥassadhajena vā saḥassachattena vā saḥassapaṭākena<sup>5</sup> vā saḥassayāññaṃ vā sabbam āharitvā dhammaṃ pūjetvā mama bodhikāle mama sammukhā<sup>6</sup> saha paṭisambhidāhi<sup>7</sup> arahattaṃ paṭilabhissanti” ti. iti vatvā puna<sup>8</sup> pāpamanussānaṃ attano buddhattadassanaṃ alabhamānabhāvaṃ kathento gātham āha:

paṭighaṃ bhikkhunīdūsaṃ<sup>9</sup> karonti saṃghabhedakaṃ  
pañcānantariyakammaṃ<sup>10</sup> thūpaṃ bodhissa chedakaṃ<sup>11</sup>  
bodhisattaṃ ca mārenti<sup>12</sup> santaṃ saṃghassa hārakā<sup>13</sup>

<sup>18</sup> M2: patthento; M3: patthentā (*From this point onwards, the text of M3, although having virtually the same meaning, is set out slightly differently. We have transcribed the whole of it here as far as the verses: ... bhikkhu vā bhikkhunī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā mahāvessantaraṃ puppehi vā jātake ekadivase yeva suṇanti saḥassayaññaṃ saḥassadhupena saḥassadīpena vā saḥassaniluppapalapuppehi vā saḥassapadumapuppehi vā saḥassa-ummārapuppehi vā cetiyassa pūjenti vā buddhapatimaṃ pūjenti vā sabbe te kālāṃ karitvā sattaṃsaṃpattiṃ yathā paribhūñjitvā mama bodhikāle mama sammukhā saḥassasambhidāhi arahattaṃ pattim labhanti vatvā te dassento gātham āha ...*)

<sup>1</sup> M2: pariniṭṭhitaṃ

<sup>2</sup> M2: *om. this phrase*

<sup>3</sup> M2: maṇḍālapupphena

<sup>4</sup> M2: ummārapupphena

<sup>5</sup> M2: *om. this phrase*

<sup>6</sup> M2: sammukhā

<sup>7</sup> M5 *starts here. (The beginning of the text is quite different; we have transcribed up to the verses as far as we have been able to decipher them: ... hi arahattaṃ paṭilabhissanti ti āpariyō pokado vadeyya ekacce kappanā dubbalā kiṃ karissanti ti parihāro taṃ vadeyya thapetvā samiddhā c’ eva mahaddanā ca kareyyanti evaṃ ca pana vatvā bodhisatto puna manussānaṃ attano buddhattaṃ dassanaṃ alabha(mā)nabhāvaṃ kathento āha)*

<sup>8</sup> M2: *om. puna*

<sup>9</sup> M3: paṭighabhikkhunīdūsaṃ

<sup>10</sup> M2: pañcānantarikammaṃ; M5: pañcānantarikaṃ kammaṃ

<sup>11</sup> M3: bodhiṇ ca chedakaṃ; M5: bodhiṇ ca chedakā

<sup>12</sup> M2: bodhisantakaṃ; M3: bodhisattassa māreti

maccherā ca pamādā ca na honti mama santike ti.<sup>1</sup>  
 thero tassa vacanaṃ sutvā evaṃ ahā<sup>2</sup> “mahārāja,<sup>3</sup> sādhu te<sup>4</sup> vacanaṃ.  
 ahaṃ<sup>5</sup> Jambūdīpamanussānaṃ kathessāmi. tvaṃ<sup>6</sup> pana kadā buddho  
 bhavissasī” ti.<sup>7</sup> “bhante, Gotamabuddhassa sāsanaṃ pañcavassa-  
 sahasāni tthātvā<sup>8</sup> antaradhāyissati. tasmim̐ antarahite<sup>9</sup> loke  
 akusalussannaṃ<sup>10</sup> bhavissati.<sup>11</sup> kusalan ti nāma mattaṃ pi<sup>12</sup> na bhavissati  
 pageva kusaluppatti.<sup>13</sup> tadā anukkamena<sup>14</sup> manussā virahita-  
 hirottappābhīṇṇamariyādā<sup>15</sup> ayaṃ me<sup>16</sup> mātādhītābhaginīnattātisaññaṃ  
 anuppādetvā ajelakakukkuṭasūkarasiṃgālasaṇḍādayo viya nillajjā<sup>17</sup>  
 bhavissanti.<sup>18</sup> tadā te anukkamena<sup>19</sup> ussanna-akusalappayogena<sup>20</sup>  
 vassasataparicchināyukato<sup>21</sup> manussā pariḥāyitā dasavassāyukā

<sup>13</sup> M2: saṃghahāraṃ; M5: saṃtaṃ saṃghassa hārikaṃ

<sup>1</sup> M3: māma santi ti

<sup>2</sup> M2 & M3: om. evaṃ

<sup>3</sup> M5: devasantusita

<sup>4</sup> M3: sodha te (In M3 the following passage, up to the verses, is quite different.

*What we have been able to decipher is added at the end of the variant readings). See Appendix B.*

<sup>5</sup> M5: om. ahaṃ

<sup>6</sup> M5: adds kho

<sup>7</sup> M2: bhavissati ti; M5: bhavituṃ gamissati ti

<sup>8</sup> M5: thatvā

<sup>9</sup> M5: antaradhāhite

<sup>10</sup> M5: akusalāni usannāni

<sup>11</sup> M5: bhavissanti

<sup>12</sup> M2: kusalan ti nāmaṃ mattaṃ pi; M5: kusalaṃ puññaṃ ti nāma mattaṃ na honti

<sup>13</sup> M5: paggeva kusalapuññaṃ karonti

<sup>14</sup> M2: anukkamena; M5: om. tadā anukkamena

<sup>15</sup> M5: manussā ahirikā anottappā bhinnamariyādā

<sup>16</sup> M5: sabbe janā

<sup>17</sup> M2: nilajjā; M5: nilajā

<sup>18</sup> M2: bhavissati

<sup>19</sup> M2: anukkamena; M5: atha anukkamena

<sup>20</sup> M2: ussanna-akusalaṃ piyogena; M5: akusalā usannātehi kusalapāpehi payogehi

<sup>21</sup> M2: yukāto; M5: yukā

bhavissanti. yadā pañcavassikadārakassa pañcavassikāya dārikāya<sup>1</sup> āvāho<sup>2</sup> bhavissati tadā satthantarakappo bhavissati. manussā aññaṃaññaṃ migasaññaṃ<sup>3</sup> bhavissanti. tesam̐ daṇḍādi upakaraṇaṃ hi<sup>4</sup> hatthena gahitagahitaṃ yaṃ kiñci<sup>5</sup> ubhatodhārākhuradhārasadisam̐<sup>6</sup> āvudhaṃ bhavissati. te aññaṃaññaṃ ghāṭessanti.<sup>7</sup> tesu ye manussā<sup>8</sup> paṇḍitā<sup>9</sup> paṭhamam̐ eva<sup>10</sup> taṃ vināsaṃ sutvā<sup>11</sup> pabbatarādīsu<sup>12</sup> pavisitvā<sup>13</sup> ekikā niliyissanti.<sup>14</sup> te tthapetvā<sup>15</sup> avasesā sattāhaṃ aññaṃaññaṃ paharitvā<sup>16</sup> vinassissanti. atha<sup>17</sup> sattame divase atikkante attano attano niliyaṭṭhānā<sup>18</sup> nikkhamitvā aññaṃaññaṃ āliṅgitvā samaggasaṃvāsaṃ<sup>19</sup> paṭilabhitvā yaṃ nūna<sup>20</sup> mayam̐<sup>21</sup> kusalakammaṃ kareyyāma pāṇātipātā virameyyāma<sup>22</sup> adinnādānā kāmesu micchācārā

<sup>1</sup> M5: pañcavassikadārikāya ca

<sup>2</sup> M5: āvāhavivaho

<sup>3</sup> M2: miggasaññaṃ; M5: migasaññaṃ

<sup>4</sup> M2: om. hi

<sup>5</sup> M5: has yaṃ yaṃ hatthena gahitaṃ tan taṃ in place of tesam̐ daṇḍādi ... yaṃ kiñci ...

<sup>6</sup> M5: ubhatodhārākhuradhārādi

<sup>7</sup> M5: vadhissanti

<sup>8</sup> M5: adds ca and om. manussā

<sup>9</sup> M5: adds kalyāṇā sattāhabbhantare

<sup>10</sup> M5: pathameva and om. taṃ

<sup>11</sup> M5: adds sattāhaṃ yāpanamattaṃ gahetvā

<sup>12</sup> M2: pabbatarādīsu; M5: pabbatarādīsu

<sup>13</sup> M2: pavīsutvā

<sup>14</sup> M5: tāni ekekaṭṭhāne nilayanti

<sup>15</sup> M2: tthapetvā; M5: teva tthapetvā

<sup>16</sup> M5: vadhivā

<sup>17</sup> M5: om. atha and adds sakalapathavi ekamaṃsaṃ lohitā bhavissati

<sup>18</sup> M5: has te ca attano niliyaṭṭhānato in place of attano attano niliyaṭṭhānā

<sup>19</sup> M5: the text is different up to yaṃ nūna ... : samaggacittā hutvā ambho usannākusalakammanimittena amhākaṃ ñātakāvinatthā honti sujjhāpāyena mayam̐ jivitaṃ labhimhā

<sup>20</sup> M5: yaṃ nūna

<sup>21</sup> M5: adds pi

<sup>22</sup> M5: om. virameyyāma



musāvādā surāmerayā<sup>1</sup> pisuññāvācā<sup>2</sup> pharussāvācā samphappalāvācā abhijjhā byāpādā micchādīṭṭhiyā pativirameyyāma puññāni karissāmā ti puññāni karissanti.<sup>3</sup> atha dasavassāyukamanussānaṃ vīsativassāyukā dārakā bhavissanti<sup>4</sup>; bhiyyo puññāni karontānaṃ manussānaṃ dārakā<sup>5</sup> anukkamena<sup>6</sup> tiṃsacattāḷisapaññāsasaṭṭhi<sup>7</sup> sattati-asītinavuti<sup>8</sup>-sata-vassāyukā<sup>9</sup> bhavissanti. anukkamena<sup>10</sup> dvivassasatāyukā puttā<sup>11</sup> ticatupañcacasatta-aṭṭhanavasatāyukā saḥassāyukā.<sup>12</sup> bhavissanti anukkamena<sup>13</sup> saḥassāyukānaṃ dvisahassāyukā puttā bhavissanti<sup>14</sup>; ticatupañcacasatta-aṭṭhanavadasasahassāyukā<sup>15</sup> bhavissanti. atha manussā atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā vassasatasahassāyukā bhavissanti.<sup>16</sup> atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ carantesu anukkamena<sup>17</sup> vassasatasahassākoṭi-āyukā<sup>18</sup> bhavissanti. tato paraṃ atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā<sup>19</sup> asaṃkheyyāyukā bhavissanti. tadā sattānaṃ jarāmarañāni<sup>20</sup> na paññāyissanti<sup>21</sup>; puna pi pamādaṃ āpajjissanti<sup>22</sup>; tesam

<sup>1</sup> M5: surāmerayamajjhapaṃmādaṭṭhānā

<sup>2</sup> M5: pesuññāvācā

<sup>3</sup> M5: pativicikiccā virameyyāma ti puññāni karissanti

<sup>4</sup> M5: atha dasavassāyukānaṃ manussānaṃ puttā vīsativassāyukā bhavissanti

<sup>5</sup> M5: *has* puttā *in place of* manussānaṃ dārakā

<sup>6</sup> M2: anukammena

<sup>7</sup> M2 & M5: saṭṭhi

<sup>8</sup> M2: navutti

<sup>9</sup> M5: *om.* vassā

<sup>10</sup> M2: anukammena

<sup>11</sup> M5: *om.* vassasatāyukā puttā

<sup>12</sup> M5: *adds* ca

<sup>13</sup> M2: anukammena

<sup>14</sup> M5: *om.* saḥassāyukānaṃ dvisahassāyukā puttā bhavissanti

<sup>15</sup> M5: *adds* dasasahassāyukā ca

<sup>16</sup> M5: atha manussesu atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ carantesu anukkamena sata-sahassāyukā bhavissanti

<sup>17</sup> M2: anukammena; M5: *om.* anukkamena

<sup>18</sup> M2: yukā; M5: koṭisatasahassāyukā

<sup>19</sup> M5: *om.* atirekataraṃ dhammaṃ caritvā

<sup>20</sup> M5: jarāmarañam

<sup>21</sup> M5: paññāyanti

āyuparihāyissanti.<sup>1</sup> asaṃkheyyāyukato sattā<sup>2</sup> parihāyitvā vassakoṭi-vassasahassāyukā bhavissanti; tato pi parihāyitvā anukkamena<sup>3</sup> navutikoṭivassasahassāyukā bhavissanti.<sup>4</sup> tato pi anukkamena<sup>5</sup> parihāyitvā asītivassasahassāyukā bhavissanti. tasmiṃ samaye<sup>6</sup> devo anvaḍhamāsaṃ anudasāhaṃ anupañcāhaṃ ca<sup>7</sup> majjhimayāme paṭhaviraṣaṃ vaḍhento vassissati.<sup>8</sup> tadā<sup>9</sup> Jambūdīpo samiddho hoti<sup>10</sup> sabbakālaṃ pupphaphalalatāgumbapādapābharito<sup>11</sup> kukkūṭasampātika-gāmanigamasamākiṇṇo<sup>12</sup> corakaṇṭakavirahito<sup>13</sup> appagatadīṭṭhigahano<sup>14</sup> rājadhānīsamujjalito<sup>15</sup> sabbaratanasampanno sukhito<sup>16</sup> subhikkho khemo<sup>17</sup> bahu-annapānakkhajjabhojanasampanno<sup>18</sup> macchamaṃsādi upabhogaparibhogasamiddho.<sup>19</sup> taḷākā sumadhurodakaparipuṇṇā sabbattha bhavissanti.<sup>20</sup> tadā bhante<sup>21</sup> jāyapatikā avivādakā akodhanā

<sup>22</sup> M2: puna pi pamādapajjissanti; M5: puna pamādaṃ āpajanti

<sup>1</sup> M2: ayupariyāpāyissanti; M5: *attaches this phrase to the following phrase:* tesam ayusaṃkheyyato parihāyissati vassakoṭi ...

<sup>2</sup> M2: *om.* sattā

<sup>3</sup> M2: anukammena

<sup>4</sup> M5: *om.* *this phrase*

<sup>5</sup> M2: anukammena

<sup>6</sup> M5: tadā

<sup>7</sup> M5: anupañcāhaṃ

<sup>8</sup> M2: vassissanti; M5: majjhimayāme rattiṃ paṭhavi(yā)rasaṃ (saṃ)vaḍhento vassanti

<sup>9</sup> M5: tadāyaṃ

<sup>10</sup> M5: samiddho ahoṣi; *The following text is slightly different:* tadā dummālatāgumbbhavānicakālameva pupphaphaladharāpādatatabharito

<sup>11</sup> M2: pādapariharito

<sup>12</sup> M5: kukkūṭasampattagāmanigamasamākiṇṇo

<sup>13</sup> M2: corakaṇṭhākavirahito; M5: *adds* ca

<sup>14</sup> M2: appagatadīṭṭhigahano

<sup>15</sup> M5: *adds* ca

<sup>16</sup> M5: *om.* sukhito

<sup>17</sup> M5: *adds* ca

<sup>18</sup> M5: *adds* ca

<sup>19</sup> M5: *om.*

<sup>20</sup> M2: taḷākāsu madhurodakaparipuṇṇo sabbattha bhavissati; M5: taḷākādīṃsu sabbatthamadurodakasampunṇo ca bhavissati

pañcakāmaguṇasukhaṃ<sup>1</sup> anubhavantā kasivañijjādi kammavirahitā<sup>2</sup> sukhena jīvissanti.<sup>3</sup> itthī purisā na suttaṃ kantissanti<sup>4</sup> na tantaṃ vāyissanti<sup>5</sup> dibbavattāni nivāsissanti. purisā sadārehi santuṭṭhā<sup>6</sup> itthiyo<sup>7</sup> sasāmihehi santuṭṭhā; saṃyamā<sup>8</sup> purisā paradāraṃ na karonti na itthiyo paraṃ purisaṃ karonti te piyā manāpā aññamaññaṃ bhavissanti. sabbe te gāmanigamadhanadhaññakhattavattupamsuhetu na vivādaṃ karissanti<sup>9</sup>; sabbe manussā surūpā uttamarūpadharā aññamaññaṃ piyā manāpā honti.<sup>10</sup> kākā<sup>11</sup> ulukehi saddhiṃ mettacittā majjhāri ca undurehi<sup>12</sup> saddhiṃ mettacittā migā migindehi saddhiṃ mettacittā naṅkulā sappēhi saddhiṃ mettacittā bhavissanti sīhādayo migehehi saddhiṃ mettacittā honti evaṃ aññamaññaṃ paṭisattatiracchānā<sup>13</sup> sabbe<sup>14</sup> mettacittaṃ labhissanti.<sup>15</sup> yadā<sup>16</sup> sāli ekabijā<sup>17</sup> sañjātā āropitā; dve sakatasahassāni dve

<sup>21</sup> M5: *adds* pañcavassasatitthiṃ purisānaṃ āvāho ca vivaho ca bhavissati

<sup>1</sup> M5: *om.* guṇa

<sup>2</sup> M5: *adds* ca

<sup>3</sup> M2: jīvanti; M5: *puts here the text about the spontaneous growth of rice. We reproduce it in note 16 below.*

<sup>4</sup> M2: na suttakantissanti; M5: tadā itthiyo suttaṃ na kantissanti

<sup>5</sup> M5: vāyissanti

<sup>6</sup> M5: sadārasantuṭṭhā

<sup>7</sup> M5: *adds* ca

<sup>8</sup> M5: *om. the passage between saṃyamā and aññamaññaṃ piyāmanāpā bhavissanti*

<sup>9</sup> M5: tadā gāmanigamakhettavattupamsudhanadhaññādi hetu vivā na karissanti

<sup>10</sup> M5: *om. this phrase and adds* khattiyā macchā ca sabbe sanāpati-ādayo ca pañcasilāni rakkhissanti

<sup>11</sup> M5: *the text is different between kākā and aññamaññaṃ: tadā kākā ca ulukā ca majjhā ca undurā ca miggā ca miggindā ca naṅkulā ca sappāpāti sabbe aññamaññaṃ ...*

<sup>12</sup> M2: majjhāri

<sup>13</sup> M5: *adds* hi

<sup>14</sup> M5: *om. sabbe and adds* aññamaññaṃ

<sup>15</sup> M5: paṭilabhissanti

<sup>16</sup> *This passage is placed earlier in M5 (see note 3 above), and is slightly different: tadāhi sayamjātasālino ekabijjāya taṇḍula-pphalāni dvesakatasahassāni dve ca sakatasatāni sattati ca sakataṇi soḷasa ambānāni dve ca tumbādhikā bhavissanti*

sakatasatāni ca dve sakatasattati c' eva ambaṇaṃ soḷasaṃ pi ca atho pi dve ca tumbāni<sup>1</sup> tandulāni pajāyareti.<sup>2</sup> tadāhaṃ bhante dasa-sahassacakkavāḷavāsīnaṃ devabrahmānaṃ āyācanaṃ sutvā kāladesadīpakulamātāyusaṃkhātāni pañcavilokanāni<sup>3</sup> viloketvā buddho<sup>4</sup> manussalokaṃ gamissāmi<sup>5</sup> ti vatvā attano pāramiṇaṃ<sup>5</sup> vaṇṇento āha:

ahaṃ hi<sup>6</sup> paripūretvā pāramiyo anekadhā

kappasatasahassāni<sup>7</sup> asaṃkheyyāni soḷasa

viriyādhiko<sup>8</sup> bodhisatto racitvā<sup>9</sup> demi dānaṃ

yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto vikalaṅgā na honti te.<sup>10</sup>

sīsaṃ me racitaṃ<sup>11</sup> katvā añjanaṃ akkhiyugalaṃ

yācānaṃ adādānaṃ kappakoṭṭisatehi pi<sup>12</sup>

yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto andhā na honti mānusa.<sup>13</sup>

racitvā aṅgapaccaṅge<sup>14</sup> dānaṃ datvā asesakaṃ<sup>15</sup>

yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto vikalaṅgā na honti te.<sup>16</sup>

na vadāmi musāvādaṃ yācānaṃ avañcanaṃ<sup>17</sup>

yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na mūgā honti mānusa.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> M2: ekasāli-ekabijā sayamjātā

<sup>1</sup> M2: tumbhāni

<sup>2</sup> M2: ca jāyareti

<sup>3</sup> M5: pañcamahāvīlokanāni

<sup>4</sup> M5: *om.* buddho

<sup>5</sup> M5: *om.* vaṇṇaṃ

<sup>6</sup> M3: pi; M5: *om. hi and writes* paripuretvāna

<sup>7</sup> M2: kappāsattasahassāhi

<sup>8</sup> M3: saddhādhiko

<sup>9</sup> M2: caritvā

<sup>10</sup> M2: me; M3: ca; M5: patto surūpā honti

<sup>11</sup> M3: sisameracitaṃ

<sup>12</sup> M3 & M4: ca

<sup>13</sup> M2 & M5: na andhā honti mānusa; M3: vikalaṅgā na honti ca

<sup>14</sup> M2: caritvā aṅgapañcaṅgaṃ; M5: aṅgapañcaṅge

<sup>15</sup> M5: demi dānaṃ asesatto

<sup>16</sup> M2 & M5: me; M3: ca

<sup>17</sup> M3: na vañcanaṃ; M5: avañcanaṃ

<sup>18</sup> M2 & M5: muggā; M3: muggā honti tadā pana

dhammaṃ sutvā pasīditvā yācakānaṃ kathaṃ suniṃ<sup>1</sup>  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na badhirā honti mānusa.<sup>2</sup>  
 piyacakkhūhi passāmi silavante ca<sup>3</sup> yācake  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na andhā honti mānusa.  
 ujaṃ kāyaṃ<sup>4</sup> karitvā 'haṃ kāle dānādike pana  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto na khujjā honti mānusa.<sup>5</sup>  
 osadhaṃ<sup>6</sup> demi sattānaṃ bhayaṃ tesaṃ pi no kare<sup>7</sup>  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto tadā sattā arogino.<sup>8</sup>  
 mettaṃ karomi<sup>9</sup> sattānaṃ bhayasantāsanāsaṃ<sup>10</sup>  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto tadā Mārā na honti te.<sup>11</sup>  
 manāpā annapānāni manāpena<sup>12</sup> dadāmi 'haṃ  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto samiddhā honti mānusa.  
 manāpāni ca vatthāni<sup>13</sup> manāpena dadāmi 'haṃ<sup>14</sup>  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto surūpā honti mānusa.<sup>15</sup>  
 manāpāni ca yānāni<sup>16</sup> hatthi-assarathāni ca<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M2, M3 & M5: suṇi

<sup>2</sup> M3 & M5: na honti badhirā tadā

<sup>3</sup> M3 & M5: silavante; M2 & M3: *om.* ca

<sup>4</sup> M2 & M3: ujukāyaṃ; M5: ujum khāyaṃ

<sup>5</sup> M3: khujjā honti tadā pana

<sup>6</sup> M2 & M5: osathaṃ; M3: osatthaṃ

<sup>7</sup> M5: bhayaṃ tesaṃ vinodayi

<sup>8</sup> M3: arogino

<sup>9</sup> M3: mettikaromi

<sup>10</sup> M2: bhayaṃ santāsavināsaṃ; M3: bhayaṃ santākasakaṃ pana (?); M5: bhayasantāsaṃ na kare

<sup>11</sup> M2, M3 & M5: me

<sup>12</sup> M2: manāpehi; M3: yācakānaṃ

<sup>13</sup> M3: *om. this half verse*

<sup>14</sup> M5: *adds here a half verse yācakānaṃ yathākāmaṃ (?), which is unmetrical and seems to be a scribal error*

<sup>15</sup> M3: *om. this verse*

<sup>16</sup> M2: yānāni

<sup>17</sup> M2: hatthi assarūpāni ca; M3: hatthi assā ratthāni ca

dolā ca sīvīkā cāpi yācakānaṃ dadāmi 'haṃ<sup>1</sup>  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto sukhītā honti mānusa.<sup>2</sup>  
 mocemi bandhanā satte<sup>3</sup> dosato dukkhato<sup>4</sup> pi ca  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto bhujjissā honti pānino.<sup>5</sup>  
 samaṃ mettaṃ<sup>6</sup> karitvā 'haṃ piyesu apiyesu ca<sup>7</sup>  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto samā honti mahītālā.<sup>8</sup>  
 tosemi yācake sabbe bhojanehi dhanehi ca<sup>9</sup>  
 yadā sabbaññutaṃ patto sītodakāpunṇā nadī.<sup>10</sup>  
 yaṃ kiñci kusalaṃ katvā<sup>11</sup> mamaṃ patthenti mānusa<sup>12</sup>  
 saṃsārabhayaabhītā te bhavissaṃ<sup>13</sup> bhavamocako.<sup>14</sup>  
 avijjāghorapabhavaṃ<sup>15</sup> mohajālasamākulaṃ<sup>16</sup>  
 vuyhantaṃ caturoghesu lokaṃ santārayiss' āhaṃ.<sup>17</sup>  
 kilesapaṇkamakkhite taṇhātaṃkārasevite  
 saṃsāradisasamuḷhe mokkhamaggaṃ adesayiṃ.<sup>18</sup>  
 Sañjive Kālasutte ca<sup>19</sup> Tāpane ca Patāpane<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M3: yācakānaṃ puna punaṃ

<sup>2</sup> M2: manussā; M3: sattā yanti ca nibbattiṃ

<sup>3</sup> M3: bandhanā sa(tte)

<sup>4</sup> M2: dukkhito

<sup>5</sup> M3: tadā puññāni pānino; M5: bhujjissā

<sup>6</sup> M2: samamettaṃ; M3: samamettā; M5: samaṃ mettiṃ

<sup>7</sup> M2 & M3: appiyesu; M2: *om.* ca

<sup>8</sup> M5: patibalā

<sup>9</sup> M3: icchitehi dhanehi ca

<sup>10</sup> M3: tadā pūre cindanādiyo ti; M5: sātodakena punṇā nadī; M3: *adds* athā metteyo taṃ evaṃ āha

<sup>11</sup> M5: kusalakammaṃ katvā

<sup>12</sup> M2: mamaṃ patthenti; M3: mamaṃ pattiṃ; M5: mama patthenti

<sup>13</sup> M3 & M5: bhavāmi

<sup>14</sup> M2: bhava mocako; M5: bhavamocaye

<sup>15</sup> M3: avijjhāpabhavaghoram

<sup>16</sup> M3: mohajālaṃ samaṃ kulaṃ

<sup>17</sup> M3: lokaṃ santārayi ahaṃ

<sup>18</sup> M2, M3 & M5: adesayi

<sup>19</sup> M3: kālaṃ sutte ca; M2: *adds* saṃghāteroruve tadā mahāroruve c'eva

<sup>20</sup> M2: tāpanapamahātāpane; M3: tāpane ca (pa)tāpane; M5: patāpena

Aviciniraye satte<sup>1</sup> saggamaggaṃ adesayiṃ.<sup>2</sup>  
 aññābandhanā bandhe taṇhājālavasaṃgate<sup>3</sup>  
 chetvāna bandhanā satte sampāpessāmi<sup>4</sup> nibbutiṃ.<sup>5</sup>  
 micchādiṭṭhikavātena dvāsattihiṭṭhi-aggalaṃ  
 atthaṅgikamaggaṭālena<sup>6</sup> vivarissāmi pāṇinaṃ<sup>7</sup>  
 nibbānanagaradvāraṃ visālaṃ ajarāmaraṃ.<sup>8</sup>  
 rāgadosatamonaddha<sup>9</sup>-hatanettānaṃ jantūnaṃ<sup>10</sup>  
 paññāsallākaṃ<sup>11</sup> datvāna nayanāṃ<sup>12</sup> sodhayiss' āhaṃ.<sup>13</sup>  
 sokāturaṃ sudukkhitaṃ<sup>14</sup> jarāmaraṇapīlitaṃ  
 ñāṇosadhavaraṃ<sup>15</sup> datvā tikicchissāmi pāṇinaṃ.<sup>16</sup>  
 mohandhakārasamulhe<sup>17</sup> sadevāsuraṃānusa<sup>18</sup>  
 ñāṇālokaṃ<sup>19</sup> pharitvāna nīharissāmi taṃ tamaṃ.  
 apāyesu ca patante<sup>20</sup> atāṇe aparāyane<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M3: *om.*

<sup>2</sup> M2, M3 & M5: adesayi

<sup>3</sup> M2: jalavassaṃgate; M3 & M5: māsavaṃgate

<sup>4</sup> M5: sampasomi

<sup>5</sup> M2, M3 & M5: nibbutiṃ

<sup>6</sup> M3: atthaṅgamaggaṭāle

<sup>7</sup> M3: vivarivā mokkhaḍhāraṃ; M5: pāṇinā

<sup>8</sup> M3: *om. this verse*

<sup>9</sup> M3: rāgamohatamonaddhaṃ; M5: rāgadosatamonuddhaṃ

<sup>10</sup> M3: hantaṃ renattā ca jantunaṃ; M5: hatanettānājjantūnaṃ

<sup>11</sup> M2, M3 & M5: salākaṃ

<sup>12</sup> M5: nayanāṃ

<sup>13</sup> M3: *adds* apāyesu pavattantaṃ atānaṃ aparāyanaṃ

<sup>14</sup> M2: sokāturaṃ dukkhitaṃ; M3: sokāturaṃ dukkhitaṃ; M5: sokāturaṃ dukkhitaṃ

<sup>15</sup> M2: satthavaraṃ; M3: satthaṃ varaṃ; M5: sathaṃ varaṃ

<sup>16</sup> M2: tikicchāmi paṇinaṃ

<sup>17</sup> M2: sammulhe; M5: mohajandhakārasamulhe

<sup>18</sup> M2: mānussa; M5: sadovāsuraṃānussa

<sup>19</sup> M2: ñāṇālokaṃ; M3: yāṇālokaṃ

<sup>20</sup> M2: apāyesu pattantaṃ; M3: *places this verse earlier (see note 13 above);* M5: apāyesu ca pattantaṃ

<sup>21</sup> M2: attānapparāyanaṃ; M5: attanaṃ aparāyanaṃ

apāyā uddharitvāna<sup>1</sup> dassessāmi parāyanaṃ ti.<sup>2</sup>  
 evaṃ ca<sup>3</sup> pana vatvā bodhisatto “yathā ’haṃ, bhante, vadāmi tathā  
 manussānaṃ kathetā” ti<sup>4</sup> sāsanaṃ datvā dasanakkhasamodhāna-  
 samujjalakarapūṭamakūlo<sup>5</sup> sudhotakanakaphalakasadisanaḷāntara-  
 supatitthāpitasaṃmujaḷitañjalikarapūṭo manoramaṃ<sup>6</sup> indanīlamanimayaṃ  
 Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atthadisāsu vanditvā pañcaṅga-  
 patitthitena<sup>7</sup> vanditvā therāṃ āpucchitvā koṭisatasahassa<sup>8</sup>-saṃkhāya<sup>9</sup>  
 surayuvati<sup>10</sup>-suraputtaparisāya<sup>11</sup> parivutto tārāṇaparivārīto<sup>12</sup> bahala-  
 jaladharapaṭalavirahitakkhaggatalasamudito paripunṇacandamaṇḍalo viya  
 virocamaṇo Tusita<sup>13</sup>-puram eva gato.

tena vuttaṃ:

evam anomavaṇṇo so Metteyyo cetiyaṃ varaṃ  
 pūjetvā puna<sup>14</sup> vanditvā piṭṭhito va patikkami.  
 sabbā devaccharā pi ca<sup>15</sup> pūjetvā cetiyaṃ varaṃ

<sup>1</sup> M2: apāya udaritvāna

<sup>2</sup> M2: dassissāmi; M3: desessāmi parāyanti

<sup>3</sup> M3: *the text differs from here up to* punnamāyaṃ yathā cando ... : bhante manusse lokaṃ gantvā yathā mayā kathitaṃ taheva katheyyāsīti so therāṃ vanditvā āpucchitvā cetiyaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā atthadisāsu vanditvā tusitabhavanaṃ gato sabbā devaparisā pubbapacchimadakkhinatare thitā bodhisattassa parivārayiṃsu tārāṇaparivutto viya gaḷalālapunṇacando devata vuttaṃ pi c’ etaṃ devakaṇṇo pi tādissā Metteyyaṃ ārivāritvā ...

<sup>4</sup> M2: kathekatha cā ti

<sup>5</sup> M2: dasana(kkha)samodānasamujjakaramakulo; M5: dasanakhasamodāna-samūjalaṃ jalakaramalakaramakulo

<sup>6</sup> M5: ... samujalitakarapūṭañjalimanoramaṃ

<sup>7</sup> M5: pañcapatitthitena

<sup>8</sup> M2: koṭisattasahassa

<sup>9</sup> M2 & M5: saṃkhātāya

<sup>10</sup> M2 & M5: suravati ...

<sup>11</sup> M5: suraputtehi parisāya

<sup>12</sup> M2: *om.*; M5: tārāṇaparivutto

<sup>13</sup> M2 & M5: Tussita

<sup>14</sup> M5: pi

<sup>15</sup> M5: sabbe devagaṇā cāpi

aṭṭhadisāsu vanditvā piṭṭhito ca paṭikkamum.<sup>1</sup>  
 punṇamāyaṃ<sup>2</sup> yathā cando sarade va virocātī<sup>3</sup>  
 tathā ariyaMetteyyo<sup>4</sup> devamajjhe virocātī.  
 migamajjhe yathā sīho<sup>5</sup> gavamajjhe yath' usabho<sup>6</sup>  
 pakkhimajjhe yathā garuddho<sup>7</sup> devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ.<sup>8</sup>  
 nagamajjhe yathā Meru<sup>9</sup> sattaratanaṃḍito<sup>10</sup>  
 naramajjhe cakkavatti<sup>11</sup> devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ.  
 tarumajjhe pāricchattako pupphamajjhe kokanado<sup>12</sup>  
 maṇimajjhe veduriyo devamajjhe yathā ayaṃ.<sup>13</sup>  
 pabbatagge yathā aggi suddhantakanakaṃ yathā<sup>14</sup>  
 sabbe deve atikkamma vaṇṇatejēna rocātī.<sup>15</sup>  
 Tusitabhavanam yanto<sup>16</sup> devehi parivārito<sup>17</sup>  
 dibbasukhaṃ anubhuttvā<sup>18</sup> ciraṃ satte pamodātī ti.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M2: piṭṭhito va ca paṭikkamum

<sup>2</sup> M2 & M5: ulumajjhe; M3: pumamāya

<sup>3</sup> M3: saradeti virocātī

<sup>4</sup> M3: evaṃ hi Metteyyo nātho

<sup>5</sup> M2, M3 & M5: sīho

<sup>6</sup> M2: gavamajjhe yathā usabho; M3: gavamajjhe 'va usabho; M5: gavamajjhe yathāsabho

<sup>7</sup> M5: varagaruddho

<sup>8</sup> M3: naddimajjheva sāgaro

<sup>9</sup> M3: contains the same verses, but in a slightly different order; M5: nāgamajjhe

<sup>10</sup> M3: devamajjhe tathā ayaṃ

<sup>11</sup> M2 & M5: cakkavatti

<sup>12</sup> M2 & M3: kokanudo; M5: om. this verse

<sup>13</sup> M2: om. this half verse

<sup>14</sup> M3: sudantī kaṇṇikā yathā; M5: om. this verse

<sup>15</sup> M2: virocātī; M3: dicchati; M5: om. this verse

<sup>16</sup> M2: Tusitabhavanam yanto; M5: Tusitapabhavayanto

<sup>17</sup> M3: om. this verse

<sup>18</sup> M5: dibbasukhānubhuttvāna

<sup>19</sup> M3: om. this verse, and adds evaṃ anomavaṇṇo so Metteyyo devapūjito devadevagaṇāmajjhe punṇacando va gacchati

tasmim̐ khaṇe yeva<sup>1</sup> thero paramapāṭimokkhasaṃvarasīlaṃ indriya-  
 saṃvarasīlaṃ<sup>2</sup> sammā jīvapārisuddhasīlaṃ<sup>3</sup> paccayasannissitasīlaṃ cā ti  
 catupārisuddhasīlādi aparimita<sup>4</sup>-guṇagaṇābharaṇasamalaṅkato indanīla-  
 maṇimayaṃ Cūlāmaṇicetiyaṃ<sup>5</sup> vanditvā Sakkaṃ devarājanaṃ  
 āpucchitvā<sup>6</sup> ativiyaḍarūṇarāgataṇhā<sup>7</sup>-micchādīṭṭhādi vividha<sup>8</sup>-rukha-  
 vanalatākīṇṇaputhuvanagumbālayajā ti<sup>9</sup> jarāmarañādi<sup>10</sup> dukkhappabhava-  
 saṃsāram addhānaṃ<sup>11</sup> atikkanto<sup>12</sup> paramasetṭhativijjāpāla<sup>13</sup>-sīsaca-  
 tutthajhānavicittapakkhavilāsītavirājitam iddhipāda<sup>14</sup>-varapāda<sup>15</sup>-  
 dvayasubhaggam aṭṭha-vimokkhapaṭisambhidāñāṇa<sup>16</sup>-lokiya-  
 lokuttarasaddhā<sup>17</sup>-pāla<sup>18</sup>-sakalalomālaṅkata-deho suvaṇṇahaṃso viya  
 sobhamāno tāvatimsabhavanato otaritvā Jambūḍīpaṃ āgantvā<sup>19</sup>  
 anopamāya sāvakaapakatilīlāya gāmanigamarājadhānīsu piṇḍāya pāvisi.  
 tena vuttaṃ<sup>20</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> M3: finishes with a short paragraph which differs a little from the other texts.  
 We reproduce it at the end of the variants. See Appendix C; M5: taṃ khaṇe  
 ñeva

<sup>2</sup> M2: om.

<sup>3</sup> M2 & M5: om. sammā-

<sup>4</sup> M5: dharaparamita-

<sup>5</sup> M5: om. cūlāmaṇi

<sup>6</sup> M2: pabhāpucchitvā

<sup>7</sup> M2 & M5: add kilesā

<sup>8</sup> M5: vicita-

<sup>9</sup> M5: jana-

<sup>10</sup> M2: adds saṃsā(ra)-; M5: adds saṃsāra-

<sup>11</sup> M5: om. saṃsāram addhānaṃ

<sup>12</sup> M2: atikkamanto

<sup>13</sup> M2 & M5: pala-

<sup>14</sup> M5: dvipāda-

<sup>15</sup> M2: om. varapāda-

<sup>16</sup> M5: yāna-

<sup>17</sup> M2: suddhā-

<sup>18</sup> M2 & M5: pala-

<sup>19</sup> M5: Jambūḍīpāgantvā

<sup>20</sup> M5: yathāha



tadā so devathero pi āpucchitvā surindakam<sup>1</sup>  
 cetiyam puna vanditvā otarivāna saggato<sup>2</sup>  
 sobhati hemahamso va<sup>3</sup> pun' āgacchati mānussam.<sup>4</sup>  
 nigama<sup>5</sup>rājadhānisu bhikkham piṇḍāya pāvisi ti.

so<sup>6</sup> piṇḍapāṭapaṭikkanto Metteyyassa pavattiṃ Jambūdīpamanussānam  
 ārocesi. manussā therassa vacanam sutvā pasannacittā dānādini puññāni  
 katvā āyuhapariyosāne devaloke pūrayiṃsu. so daliddakapuriso<sup>7</sup>  
 aṭṭhaniluppalaḍāyako yāvajjivam<sup>8</sup> uppaladānam anussarivā manussa-  
 lokato cavitvā tāvatimsabhavane<sup>9</sup> devaccharāhi parikiṇṇe<sup>10</sup> naccagīta-  
 pañcaṅgikaturiyasamghuṭṭhe<sup>11</sup> sattaratanakhacitte niluppalapāsāde  
 nibbatti.<sup>12</sup> tassa akkanta-akkanta<sup>13</sup>-kāle pañcavaṇṇāni uppalāni pade pade  
 sampaticchimsu. tassa mukhagandho uppalagandho<sup>14</sup> viya sakaladeva-  
 nagaram pavāyi.<sup>15</sup> devā devitthiyo uppalagandham ghāyitvā<sup>16</sup> tam  
 sevanti. sabbe devā tassa pade pade sampaticchannam<sup>17</sup> uppalam disvā  
 Sakkassa devaraṇṇo ārocesum.<sup>18</sup> Sakko tam<sup>19</sup> tesam katham sutvā  
 tuṭṭhacitto hutvā tattha gantvā pucchi “devate, manussaloke kim akāsi

<sup>1</sup> M5: āpucchitvam purindhadam

<sup>2</sup> M5: saggato ti

<sup>3</sup> M5: ca

<sup>4</sup> M2 & M5: mānussam

<sup>5</sup> M2: adds vā

<sup>6</sup> M5: *om. the following passage up to aṭṭhaniluppalaḍāyako*

<sup>7</sup> M2 & M5: *om.*

<sup>8</sup> M5: *om.*

<sup>9</sup> M5: *adds* niluppalapāsāde

<sup>10</sup> M5: paripuṇṇe *and adds* dibbativā

<sup>11</sup> M5: samkhecumve (?)

<sup>12</sup> M5: *om.*

<sup>13</sup> M5: atikkanta atikkanta

<sup>14</sup> M5: mukho uppalagandho

<sup>15</sup> M5: vayāsi

<sup>16</sup> M5: gāyitvā *and om.* tam

<sup>17</sup> M2: sampaticchinam; M5: *om.*

<sup>18</sup> M5: ārocayimsu

<sup>19</sup> M5: *om.* tam

puññam<sup>1</sup> evarūpaṃ sampattiṃ labhasi” ti.<sup>2</sup> yo<sup>3</sup> Sakkassa vacanam sutvā  
 evam āha “devarāja, aham pubbe manussaloke Mithilavāsi Piṅguttaro  
 nāma māṇavo<sup>4</sup> mātaram posento<sup>5</sup> ekadivasamhi ṇhāpanatthāya<sup>6</sup> ekam  
 saram gantvā tattha<sup>7</sup> nhātvā<sup>8</sup> aṭṭhaniluppalapupphāni disvā tāni gahetvā  
 ekassa bhikkhuno datvā tena<sup>9</sup> niluppalaḍānena niluppalapāsāde jāto  
 ’mhi<sup>10</sup>; mama akkanta<sup>11</sup>-akkantakāle pade pade uppalapuppham<sup>12</sup> jāyati  
 mama cakkhudvāyam uppaladadasaḍisaṃ<sup>13</sup> uppalagandho viya me kāyo  
 tena Uppalo nāma devaputto jāto ’mhi” ti. Sakko tassa vacanam<sup>14</sup> sutvā  
 pamuditacitto pasannamānaso hutvā<sup>15</sup> tato pi<sup>16</sup> niluppalapupphāni  
 gahetvā<sup>17</sup> buddhassa cetiyam<sup>18</sup> pūjesi so Uppaladevaputto<sup>19</sup> yāvajjattanā  
 yeva<sup>20</sup> hoti.

tena vuttam:

puna bhava pi tam puññam Metteyyass’ eva santike<sup>21</sup>  
 dibbasukhaṇ ca bhuñjitvā pupphadānass’ idam phalam.

<sup>1</sup> M5: so kim katvā

<sup>2</sup> M2: labhati ti

<sup>3</sup> M2 & M5: so

<sup>4</sup> M2 & M5: *om.* Mithilavāsi Piṅguttaro nāma māṇavo

<sup>5</sup> M5: posesi

<sup>6</sup> M2: nahānatthāya

<sup>7</sup> M5: *om.* tattha

<sup>8</sup> M2: nahātvā; M5: *adds* pana

<sup>9</sup> M5: te ten’ eva uppaladānena

<sup>10</sup> M5: aṭṭhaniluppalapāsāde jāto; M2: jatehi

<sup>11</sup> M5: atikkanta

<sup>12</sup> M5: niluppalam

<sup>13</sup> M2: uppaladasaḍisaṃ; M5: cakkha-uppalasadisam

<sup>14</sup> M5: katham

<sup>15</sup> M5: *om.*

<sup>16</sup> M2: *om.*; M5: so

<sup>17</sup> M5: niluppalam gahetvā

<sup>18</sup> M5: buddhapatimam

<sup>19</sup> M5: *om.* uppala

<sup>20</sup> M5: yāvajjhattameva

<sup>21</sup> M5: Metteyyassa va santike

tasmā hi paṇḍito poso Metteyyabuddhasantike<sup>1</sup>  
 pāpunituṃ paṇidhāya dānasīlādikaṃ kare.  
 yo yo yaṃ yaṃ bodhisattaṃ vacanassānūsārino  
 puññaṃ karoti so so ca Metteyyadassanaṃ varam<sup>2</sup>  
 labhissati dukkhass' antaṃ karissati anāgate.  
 saṃsāre saṃsaranto pi apāye<sup>3</sup> na gamissati ti.

iti Mālayyadevatherassa<sup>4</sup> vaṇṇanā nitthitā.  
 nibbānapaccayo hotu anāgate bhavissanti<sup>5</sup>

† E. Denis

<sup>1</sup> M2: buddhassa

<sup>2</sup> M5: Metteyyadassanavaram

<sup>3</sup> M5: apāyaṃ

<sup>4</sup> M2: om. deva; M5: ends Māleyyadevavaththu

<sup>5</sup> M2 & M5: om. this final phrase

Appendix A (see note 7 on page 40)

M3: devarāja Meteyyo kiṃ kammaṃ (= puñña-kammaṃ ?) katvā idaṃ sampatiṃ  
 labhati bhante ahaṃ kathaṃ jānitabbaṃ sabbaññābuddho pana sakā (= sakkā ?)  
 tassa sampatiṃ vannetuṃ Meteyyo budhassapadaṃ pathetvā loka-  
 bhavāmopanatthāya me dhanisambhāraṃ karonto dānadācini (= dānādini ?)  
 manussasampatidento anekakoṭikappadānapārami katvā silarakkhituṃ satta-  
 sampatidento jhānaṃ kārinaṃ brahmasampatidento anekakoṭikappa-  
 nekkhamapārami katvā dukkhadassanaṃ sotāpattimaggaphalaṃ dento  
 anekakoṭikappapaññāpārami katvā aniccadassanaṃ sakkhidāgāmamaggaṃ (= sakadāgāmamaggaṃ ?)  
 dento anekakoṭikappavirayapārami katvā anattāna-  
 dassanaṃ (= anattadassanaṃ ?) anāgāmimaggaṃ dento anekakoṭikappa-  
 khaṇṭipārami katvā tisakkhanaṃ upekkhanaṃ arahattaṃ dento ane-  
 koṭikappasaccapārami katvā paṇavadhavivajitaṃ atthaṅgikaṃ dento ane-  
 koṭikappa-adhiṭṭhānapārami katvā dukkhadassanaṃ saṃsāranibbānaṃ dento  
 anekakoṭikappamettupekkhaṃ katvā anantañānaṃ paṭṭhayaṇo sabbe sattānaṃ  
 upanattāya samaṭṭho anatta(= ananta ?)-bodhisambhāre katvā anantakappe yeva  
 anantasīlālaṅkāre dento anantabodhisambhāre katvā anantakappe yeva  
 kilesasocanaṃ samādhidento anantabodhisambhāraṃ katvā anantakappe yeva  
 pāpachedanaṃ paññāsaṭṭhaṃ dento anantabodhisambhāraṃ katvā anantakappe  
 yeva saṃsāraṇnavattikaṃ vimuttidento anantabodhisambhāraṃ karonto  
 anantakappe yeva mokkhaṇṇaṃ nātukāmo nānaṃ dento ananta-  
 bodhisambhāraṃ karonto kappe yeva tayo bodhisattā eko bodhisatto eko  
 paññādhiko eko virayādhiko eko saddhādhiko tesu paññādhiko nāma  
 kappasatasahassādhikāni koṭicattāri asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi viriyādhiko  
 kappasatasahassādhikāni atṭha asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi saddhādhiko pana  
 kappasatasahassādhikāni soḷasa asaṃkheyaṇi pāramiyo akāsi Metteyyo pana  
 saddhādhiko nāma Metteyyasambhāro (= sambhārā ?) samuddoya (= samuddo  
 yathā ?) pāramiyo hoti ekadesena vuttaṃ pi saso samuddo (?) vattati andho yathā  
 pabātārohe yeva tasmā bhante na sakkomi tassa sambhāraṃ pakāsetuṃ tathā  
 Ariyametteyyo anekasahassaparivārehi āgantvā yojanaparimaṇḍalaṃ  
 Cūḷāmuṇicetiyaṃ ca ākāsaparimaṇḍalaṃ ca dibbobhāseṇa pharitvā cetiyaṃ  
 padakkhiṇaṃ katvā anekasahassasuriyamaṇḍalaṃ viya sinerapadakkhiṇaṃ katvā  
 atṭhadisāsu vanditvā gandhamālādihi pūjetvā sattaratanamayāṃ mālāvicittaṃ  
 candamaṇḍalaṃ sadisaṃ sisato otāretvā cetiyaṃ pūjetvā pācīnadvāre nisīdi tadā  
 cetiyaṇgaṇamālāvicitra(sic)-paripuṇṇa osadhitārakarasi viya ahosi sakala-  
 indanagaraṃ ekaganda ahosi bodhisatto yena thero ten' upasaṅkami  
 upasaṅkamitvā therāṃ vanditvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi therāṃ etad avoca bhante kuto  
 āgato ti ... ?

## Appendix B (see note 4 on page 46)

M3: ... mahārāja sodha te vacanam Jambudipamanussā kathessāmi tvam pana kadā buddho bhavissasī ti bhante Gotamabuddhassa sāsanaṃ pañcavassasahassāni thatvā antaradhāyissanti tasmim antarahite loke akusalappanam kusalan ti na jānāti paggeva kusaluppatti tadā manussā virahita-hirotappābhinnamariyādā mā(tā)pitābhaginisaññaṃ anuppā ajjelakukkara-sigālāsonādayo viya nilajjā bhavissanti usannākusalena āyuvassasatam hinam hinā anukammen' eva dasavassāyukā maggedārakā pañcavassā ca pañcavassā va dārakā āvāho vivāho ca tesam dvinnam bhavissati tividho sattantarakappo dubbhikkantararakappo rogantararakappo satthantararakappo idha sattantarakappo vedigañño (= veditabbo ?) tadā manussā aññamaññaṃ miggasaññaṃ patilabhissanti hattena gahita ubhato dhārākhurasadisam āvudhā bhavissati te aññamaññaṃ paharivā vinassanti tesu ye manussā pañḍitā pathamam eva tam vināsam sutvā sattāham yāpadāharam gahetvā pabbatakandarādisu pavisitvā niliyissan ti tesu thapetvā avasesā sattāham aññamaññaṃ paharivā vinassanti sakalapathavī ekamaṅgalalikā bhavissati atha sattāham divase atikante attano attano niliyitathānā nikkhamitvā aññamaññaṃ visālam labhitvā ālingitvā samaggaṃ patilabhivā yanuna mayam kusalakammaṃ kareyyāma paṇātipātā virameyyāma adinnādānā kāmesu micchācarā musāvādā pīsuññāvācā pharusavācā sampapphalāvācā abhijjā byāpādā micchādīṭṭhiyā pa(tī)virameyyāmā ti ime dasakusalakammaṃ paṭisamodhānetvā te puretum ārabhisu athā dasavassāyukānam manussānam visativassāyukā dārakā bhavissanti atha bhiyyo tesu dhammaṃ puretesu tiṃsacattālisapaññāsā ti anukammena dve vassasatāyukā bhavissanti tīnicattāripaṇcacasatta-aṭṭhanavavassasahassā dvetīnicattāripaṇcadasavisati-tiṃsacattālisapañcasatṭhisattati-asitivassasahassāni vadanti navatiṃsavassasahassā aṭṭhamanusse su atirekataram dhammaṃ carantesu vassasatasahassā āya (= āyukā ?) bhavissanti atirekataram dhammaṃ carantesu vassakoṭisahassā āyu(kā) bhavissanti tathā sattānam jarāmarāṇam na paññayanti puna pi pamādam āpajjanti tesam āyam parihāyissanti asaṃkheyya ayam pa(ri)hāyitvā vassakoṭisahassā tato satasahassam parihāyitvā navutti-vassasahassā asitivassasahassam vathassanti tasmi samaye devo aghamāsam anuddasāham anupañcahañ ca majjhimayāme paṭhavirasam vadento vassati tadā jambudipam sabbattha samiddho hoti yadā padamāniccakkālam thulālatāgumbapādapattalabharitā kukkuṭasāpātīkagāmaniggamarājadhāni samākinno corakaṇḍakavirahito appaggaṭatīṭṭhigahano rājadhāni samujjalito sabbaratana-sampanno subhikkho khemo bahu-annapānakhajabhojanam seyya meyya macchamaṇṣāsī upabhogaparibhogasamiddho bhante yadayajāpatikā avivādakā ako(dha)nā honti pañcakāmasukham anubhavanti tadā manussaloke gamissāmi yadā sabbaparisā kasinabijā akarontā sabbabhogaṃ anubhavantā tadā manussaloke gantvā tadā ittiyo na suttaṃ kantiṃ pi rukkhe dibbavattehi

nivāsento tadā m(an)ussalokaṃ gantvā yadā manussalokhattiyā amacchā senā patādayo rakkhanti pañca silāni tadā manussalokaṃ gantvā yadā ittisāmikena santutthā purisā paradāram na karonti ittiyo aññehi kāmam na karonti te manussalokaṃ gantvā idāni attano pāramivaṇṇento āha ...

## Appendix C (see note 1 on page 57)

M3: thero Meteyyassa gamanam varam pasitvā devarajānam āpucchitvā cetiyam vandhitvā Jambudipam sampatto Kambujagāmaṃ pindāya pavisi piṇḍipātam gahetvā pattikanto tato patthāya Meteyyassa va pavuttiṃ Jambudipamanussānam ārocesi manussā therassa vacanam sutvā dānādini puññāni katvā āyuhapariyosāne devaloke puriyimsu so upaladāyako tena tāvatimsabhavane pupphapāsāde devapuripinṇe nibbatti naccagitapañcaṅgikaturiyasamghutte akkantakale pañcavaṇṇa-upalāni pade pade jātā tassa upalagando viya mukkho sakaladevanagare vāyati Sakko pagevā tassa pade pade upalam disvā tutthacitto ahesum Sakko āha devate pubbe kiṃ akāsi puññaṃ evam rūpaṃ sampattilabhasi ti Upaladevaputto yathā tathā visajjhesi Sakko tam vacanam sutvā pamuditacitto upalapupphāni gahetvā cetiyam pujesi sakālayam tato vassati ti tena pathamasāṅgitikācariyājīnadesitam dhammaṃ saddhāya pasādajanatthāya kathento āha ye suṇantiṃ sa sakkaccaṃ Vessantaram jinadesitam ye ca karonti puññāni silādini padāyakā te subhanti passayyam Mettayyasugataṃ varanti

Māleyyadevattheravaṇṇanā nitthitā

brah Māleyyayavalelāchapappabissantā ( ? )

buddham saranam gacchāmi

dhammam saranam gacchāmi

samgham saranam gacchāmi

iti pi so bhaggavā a(ra)ham sammāsambuddho vijā

## Appendix D (see Introduction page 7)

anekadevaputtā pi	devakañña pi tādisā
Metteyyam parivāretvā	gacchanti tathāmbare
puñnamāyam yathā cando	sarade kāle va bhānumā
vaṇṇarūpena ten' eva	devamajjhe virocati
evam anomavaṇṇo so	Metteyyo lokapuṇḍavo
devamajjhe gato santo	pajjalanto pi āgato

so āgantvā Cūlāmanicetiyam vanditvā padakkhiṇam katvā Maliyadevathera upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā ekamante tiṭṭho theram pucchi bhante āgacchathā ti Jambudipā mahārājā ti kiṃ bhante Jambudipāmanussā mamaṃ sambhaventi sambhaneti (= sambhāventi) mahārājā ti

yadā hi kusalam katvā

Metteyyass' eva buddhassa

tuyham bhāventi bodhiyam

dassanam bhavatu sabbadā ti

Metteyyo bodhissato evaṃ āha	mama pathenti mānusa
yaṃ kiñci kusalaṃ katvā	bhavāmi bhayaṃmoca
saṃsārabhayabhūtaṃ	mohajālasamajalaṃ
avijjāya mahāghoraṃ	lokassa' antaṃkaro ahaṃ
vuyhantaṃ caturaghehi	taṇhātakkarasevite
kilesapaṇkamakkhite	dhammaṃ sudesayissa' ahaṃ
saṃsāradisammūḷhe	tāpane puna tāpane
sañjive kālasutte ca	taṇhāsāvasaṃgate
aññānabandhanābaddhe	sampāpessāmi nibbutiṃ
chetvāna bhandanaṃ satte	dvāsattihi hanaraṃ gataṃ
micchadiṭṭhikavāṭe	vivarissāmi paṇinaṃ
atthaṅgamaggatalehi	pāvetvā nantaṇtūnaṃ
rāgadosatamonaddhaṃ	nayanaṃ sodhayissa' ahaṃ
paññāsalākaṃ datvāna	jarāmaranapīlitaṃ
sokāturānaṃ dukkhinaṃ	tikichissāmi paṇinaṃ
ñānosadhavaṃ datvā	sadevāsuraṃ mānuse
mohandhakārasammūḷhe	vidhamissāmi taṃ tamaṃ
ñānālokaṃ karitvāna	dassayissāmi parāyanaṃ
lokaṃ apāyabandhantaṃ (baddhaṃ taṃ) attānaṃ	
apāyā uddharitvāna	

## THE STORY OF THE ELDER MĀLEYEYADEVA

Translated by Steven Collins

Honour to the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Fully Enlightened One ! Bowing to the excellent Buddha, (who is) to be revered by gods and men, to the Teaching which originates from the Happy One,<sup>1</sup> and to the virtuous Monastic Order, I will undertake (to tell) in brief the story of Māleyya, replete with supreme(ly good) advice<sup>2</sup> and edifying for all.

In the past, the story goes, in the island of Tambapaṇṇi, (also) called the isle of Lankā, where the (Three) Jewels were established, a certain elder by the name of Māleyyadeva, famous for the excellence of his supernatural power and knowledge, lived in Rohana province supported by (alms given in) the village of Kamboja. The elder repeatedly brought back news of the beings roasting in hell: recounting (this news) to their relatives he inspired them to make merit by alms-giving and the like, and he made them aim for heaven as the result of the merit they acquired and by transferring merit to those (hell-beings). By the force of his supernatural power he travelled to both heaven(s) and hell(s): after seeing the great majesty of laymen and women in heaven who had faith in the Three Jewels, he went to people (on earth) and recounted how such-and-such a layman or woman had been reborn in such-and-such a heaven and experienced great happiness; after seeing the great suffering of miscreants in hell, he went to people (on earth) and recounted how such-and-such a man or woman had been reborn in such-and-such a hell and experienced great suffering. People gained faith in the

<sup>1</sup> On *sugata* as an epithet of the Buddha see Norman (90: 154), who renders it 'one who is) in a (particularly) good way'.

<sup>2</sup> For *naya* as 'advice' see Ñāṇamoli (62: xli-xliii), who translates more literally as 'guide-line'.

teaching and did no evil; they dedicated merit (acquired through) almsgiving and the like to their dead relatives, and aimed for heaven as the result of the merit they acquired and by transferring merit to those (dead relatives).

One day the elder got up in the morning, took his robe and bowl and went to the village to collect alms. In the village (lived) a poor man (who) looked after his mother. At the (same) time he went out from the village to bathe; he came to a pond, took his bath, and saw eight blue lotus flowers. He picked them, got out of the pond, and started on his way (back). Then he saw the elder coming (towards him) bowl in hand, (looking) calm, restrained, well-controlled, his senses mastered, with perfect bearing. Joy and delight arose in him, and he went up to the elder and greeted him respectfully with his hands in the form of a hollow lotus-bud (made) by putting his ten finger-nails together. With great faith he gave the flowers to the elder, and made an aspiration in this verse:

By this gift of flowers, wherever I am (reborn) in a hundred thousand births, may I not be poor !

The elder took the eight blue lotus flowers, and gave thanks in this verse:

Whatever (a person) gives with a faithful mind, whether coarse or choice,<sup>1</sup> has a successful result according to (the donor's) wish.

<sup>1</sup> This rendering of *lūkhāṃ paṇītaṃ vā* is taken from Masfield's (89: 91) translation of the phrase at Vv-a 64.

After giving thanks (thus) the elder (first) reflected<sup>1</sup>: 'Where shall I place these eight blue lotus flowers on a shrine — on top of a mountain, at (the place of the Buddha's) final nirvāṇa, at (the foot of) the Great Bodhi-tree or at the place where the Blessed One set in motion the Wheel of the Supreme Law<sup>2</sup>?' Then he thought: 'I have worshipped (at) these places seven times (each); what if I were to worship at the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine in heaven?'

Immediately after thinking this, the elder attained the fourth meditation level, which is the basis for supernatural knowledge; emerging from it he flew along the path of the wind and in the time it takes to snap one's fingers reached the terrace around the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine in the city of the Thirty-three gods, made beautiful by the (surrounding) land's being adorned with seven precious things<sup>3</sup>; Sakka,

<sup>1</sup> Reading *evaṃ samacintesi* with M3.

<sup>2</sup> 'Shrine' translates *cetiya*; the translation omits the first *vā*, and takes *udāhu* as an interrogative introducing the list of alternative sites in the locative. (Sih III p. 5 has *kuhiṃ āropessāmi mahācetiye udāhu cetiyagiriṇṇabate udāhu mahābodhimhīti punassa etad ahoṣi*.) Denis translated here 'Ou déposerai-je ces huit fleurs de lotus ? aux pieds du cetiya, situé sur la Montagne, ou à celui situé à l'endroit du Parinirvāṇa, ou à celui situé près du grand arbre de la Bodhi, ou à celui situé à l'endroit de la mise en route de la roue de la Loi incomparable ?' In a note he refers to the fact that four 'shrines' commonly grouped together in this way are the sites of the Buddha's birth at Lumbinī, his Enlightenment, First Sermon and final Nirvāṇa. He remarks that the order is different here, and that the site of his birth is 'curiously replaced by the cetiya "placed on the mountain"', speculating that this might refer to the Cūlāmaṇi cetiya on Mt. Meru, in the heaven of the Thirty-three. He notes that manuscript M4 omits both this and the Parinirvāṇa cetiya, while M3 omits the latter; and states that 'the Siamese translation of the *Tikā Māleyyadevathera*' (*sic*) mentions only three cetiya-s: those at the top of a mountain, at the place of the Parinirvāṇa and of the First Sermon, while 'the Siamese text of the Pra Malay' mentions only the cetiya at the Bodhi-tree.

<sup>3</sup> The long compound is difficult to analyse satisfactorily. The seven 'precious things' (literally 'jewels') are: gold, silver, pearl, gems, beryl, diamonds, and coral.

king of the gods, had reverently caused (this) delightful sapphire (shrine) to be set up, so that all the gods could worship (there). The Blessed One himself had cut off his top-knot (of hair) with a sword grasped in his cotton-soft, webbed hand, and had thrown it into the air with the aspiration 'if I am to attain enlightenment and become a Buddha may my top-knot not fall to the ground'; it did not fall to the ground, and (Sakka) caught it in a splendid gold casket which he carried on his own head (and then made the shrine for it). (The elder) worshipped (at the shrine) with the eight lotus flowers, walked around it keeping it to his right, paying reverence to the eight directions and with a five-fold prostration,<sup>1</sup> and sat down on the eastern side. Thus it is said:

He attained the fourth meditation level, the basis for supernatural knowledge, and emerging from it rose up instantly<sup>2</sup> into the sky like a golden swan; in the time it takes to snap one's fingers he arrived at the shrine in front of (the) Vejayanta palace, (where he) worshipped and paid reverence.<sup>3</sup>

At that moment Sakka, king of the gods, came with his retinue and worshipped the right tooth of the Blessed One and the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine with various kinds of garlands, perfumes, ointments and the like;

<sup>1</sup> This has been taken to refer to (i) 'touching the ground with forehead, waist, elbows, knees and feet' (PED citing Childers, s.v. *pañca-paṭiṭṭhita*), (ii) a 'kneeling añjali salute in which the forehead, edges of the hands and the knees touch the ground' (Masfield 89: 32 note 22), or (iii) touching the ground with forehead, elbows and knees (Bareau 62: 251).

<sup>2</sup> Reading *uggamma* with M2.

<sup>3</sup> M3 and M4 omit this paragraph and read more simply: 'The elder rose up into the sky on that very day and in the time it takes to snap one's fingers stood in front of the Vejayanta palace [reading *thero tadahe va vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā acchārasaṃghātamattam pi* ... ; for *tadahe va* see CPD s.v. *aha*]. He saw the shrine and feeling joy paid reverence to it; he worshipped with the eight blue lotus flowers, walked around (it) keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions and stood at one side'.

seeing the elder sitting down he went up to him, paid reverence and sat down to one side. All the groups of gods paid reverence to the shrine, walking around it keeping it to the right, (and then) paid reverence to the elder and sat down all around (him); so too did all the divine maidens, who paid reverence to the elder with a five-fold prostration. Sakka, king of the gods, asked the elder: 'Sir, where have you come from?' 'Great king, I have come from the Rose-Apple island<sup>1</sup> to pay reverence to the shrine.' Then the elder asked Sakka: 'Did you have the Cūlāmaṇi-shrine set up?' 'Yes, venerable sir, I had it set up to be worshipped by the gods.' The elder asked: 'King of the gods, these gods did good deeds in the human world and were reborn here to enjoy divine happiness; why do they make merit now?' 'Venerable sir, these gods make merit in the desire to go beyond the world of the gods.'<sup>2</sup> Sir, gods who are of little merit do not remain long in heaven, just as a few grains put in a wooden trough are quickly used up; whereas gods who are of much merit remain long in heaven, just as a lot of grain put in a granary remains (there) for a long time and is not used up. Similarly, sir, just as people with little wealth (but) with a lot of skill and knowledge, if they engage in farming, trade and the like make a living without difficulty, gods of little merit who enjoy (its) result (but) then make further merit experience heavenly happiness afterwards. Venerable sir, wealthy people with no skill or knowledge who do not engage in farming, trade or the like, (soon) use up their wealth and afterwards become quite poor: in just the same way gods of much merit who experience (its) result without making further merit afterwards are born in a poor state. Just as poor people with no

<sup>1</sup> *Jambudīpa*, the continent south of the cosmic centre Mt. Meru, corresponding (at least) to what are now India and Sri Lanka.

<sup>2</sup> I have previously rendered *devaloka* simply as 'heaven'. In this context there is, perhaps, some ambiguity as to whether *upari* means 'above', in the sense that the gods of the heaven of the Thirty-three wish to be reborn higher in the cosmic scale, in one of the Brahma-worlds, or whether it means 'beyond' in the non-spatial sense of transcending heavenly rebirth in *nirvāṇa* (perhaps by means of rebirth on earth at the time of Metteyya). See text below.



skill and knowledge who do not engage in farming, trade or the like become (even) poorer, so too gods of little merit who experience (its) fruit without making further merit become (even) poorer; (conversely) just as rich people with a lot of skill and knowledge who engage in farming, trade or the like prosper even more, so too gods of much merit who give alms, practise morality, and so on, go upstream (in the stream of life) and prosper, (even) as far as *nirvāṇa*.’

When the elder heard this he was pleased, and asked Sujā’s husband (i.e. Sakka): ‘Great king, all the gods have come to pay reverence at the shrine of the Blessed One; is the future Buddha Metteyya coming?’ ‘Yes, venerable sir.’ ‘When will he come?’ ‘Sir, he has come (in the past) on the eighth, fourteenth or fifteenth days (of the lunar month).’ ‘So — today being the eighth — is he coming (today)?’ ‘Yes, sir.’ While the elder was thus conversing with Sakka, a junior god came with a hundred-fold retinue to worship at the shrine. The elder saw the junior god arrive and asked Sakka: ‘King of the gods, is this Metteyya?’ ‘No, sir.’ ‘Who is it?’ ‘Someone else, sir.’ ‘King of the gods, what merit did this junior god make previously in the human world?’ Sakka related his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, when born in the human (world) he was a poor grass-cutter who (once) when eating a leaf used for wrapping food<sup>1</sup> gave one piece as an offering to a crow; after doing even so small a meritorious deed he moved on (through life) in the human

<sup>1</sup> If *bhattapūtaṇ* is correct, it is the direct object of *bhuñjivā*; the word usually refers to a leaf used for wrapping cooked rice, and I assume the point is that the man is so poor this is all he has to eat. The word *ekapiṇḍika* then refers not to one ball of rice but to one piece of the leaf given as ‘alms-food’ to the crow. Denis renders more simply ‘comme il mangeait un sachet de riz bouilli, il en donna une portion à un corbeau’.

(realm) which ends in death, and was then reborn (here) because of it.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to an animal such as a crow, as a result of even that gift the giver receives a hundred(-fold).

The junior god came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the eastern side.

Immediately afterwards another junior god came to worship at the shrine of the Blessed One with a thousand-fold retinue, illuminating all the regions with the splendour of his body. The elder saw him and asked Sakka ‘King of the gods, is this Metteyya?’ ‘No, sir.’ ‘Who is it?’ ‘Someone else.’ ‘King of the gods, what merit did this junior god make previously in the human world?’ Sakka related his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, when born in the human (world) he was a young brahmin by the name of Gopāla; (once) when eating he gave a portion to a cowherd, and through that gift he has been born (here) with a retinue of a thousand. He has come with (his) thousand(-fold retinue) to worship at the shrine.

Therefore it is said:

<sup>1</sup> I derive *sarivā* from *sar*, to move, flow (as in *saṃsāra*); Denis seems to have taken it as being from *sar*, to remember, since he translates the last line ‘s’en étant souvenu au moment de la mort, il a transmigré et est re-né ici’, although it is unclear whether his last two verbs gloss *upapajjati* (mss. *uppapajjati*) or he was taking *sarivā* in both the senses mentioned here.

Whoever gives a gift to those who are without virtue and of little merit, as a result of even that gift receives a thousand(-fold).

He arrived, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the western side.

Another junior god came, with a retinue of ten thousand, illuminating the whole shrine area with the splendour of his body. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same replies]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Sir, (once) in a former life he gave alms to a virtuous novice, and through the maturation of that (deed of) merit he has died and come to heaven.

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to an ordinary person<sup>1</sup> who is virtuous, as a result of even that gift the giver receives ten thousand(-fold).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the southern side.

<sup>1</sup> Reading *puthujjane* with M2 and M4; i.e. someone who has not advanced to any of the stages of the Buddhist spiritual path.

Another junior god came, with a retinue of twenty thousand, illuminating the whole area of space<sup>1</sup> with the splendour of his body and his ornamentation. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka explained his meritorious deed in this verse:

This one gave alms to a monk on his alms-round at (one) time (in the past); because of that (deed of) merit he has died and come to heaven.

Therefore it is said:

Whoever gives a gift to a virtuous monk, as a result of that same (gift) the giver receives twenty thousand(-fold).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down on the northern side.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of thirty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was formerly a weaver in Anurādhapura, who lived a life of purity (and was) well-known as (a person) of great merit; at various places he cremated the bodies of the dead, and transferred to (each dead person) the merit acquired through

<sup>1</sup> *Ākāsa-maṇḍala*, lit. 'circle of space'; for the term in meditative visualisation see Vism 175 (PTS ed., = HOS V 26).

giving<sup>1</sup> to the virtuous gifts (such as) medicine, almsfood, robes and lodgings. Because of this meritorious action he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of forty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was a very wealthy man<sup>2</sup> (called) Haritāla, generous and virtuous, who lived a life of faith<sup>3</sup> in the village of Haritāla; he gave medicine, robes, food and drink to the virtuous, and by the maturation of these deeds was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'having cremated the bodies of dead people here and there and dedicating (to them) the (merit acquired through) gift(s), he gave ...'. The verb *uddissati*, 'to point out' or 'refer to', also has the specialised meanings of designating the recipient of a gift or of the transferred merit acquired from a gift (see CPD s.v.); *dakkhiṇā* simply means 'gift', but is common, in the *Peta-vatthu* for example, as a term for what PED calls (s.v. *dakkhiṇā*) 'a donation given to a "holy" person with ref. to unhappy beings in the Peta existence, intended to induce the alleviation of their sufferings; an intercessional, expiatory offering'. I assume therefore that the weaver is being said to have transferred merit to the dead he cremated by giving gifts to 'the virtuous'. As Denis points out in a note, the force of *tahim tahim* is probably that these were either abandoned corpses or those of people who had no relatives to bury them.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāseṭṭhi*, a 'great' banker or merchant.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *saddhājīvena* with M2 and M4.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with fifty<sup>1</sup> thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

He was (re)born as king Saddhātissa in the island of Tāmbapaṇṇi, the brother of Abhayaduṭṭha<sup>2</sup>; serene in mind and respectful to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order, permanently restrained in the five (rules of) virtue and observing the eight Precepts on Uposatha day(s),<sup>3</sup> giving to the virtuous, devoted to liberality, not stingy<sup>4</sup>; by the maturation of these deeds he was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of sixty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

<sup>1</sup> Reading *paññāsa-sahasseehi* with M3 and M4.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, destined to be at the right side of Metteyya as his first chief disciple; Saddhātissa was destined to be at Metteyya's left, as his second chief disciple; see DPPN s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *pañcasīle* [for -sīle] *saññāmo niccam*, with *saññāmo* (= *samyamo*) as an adjective: cp. text p. 40 line 2 and p. 50 line 4, translation p. 81 and note 3, p. 88 and note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Reading *dadānaṃ* ... *amaccharo*, and taking *dadānaṃ* as a present participle.

Abhayaduṭṭha by name, a provider of the four requisites (to monks), he paid due homage to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order; he had a relic-shrine built for the Tathāgata and (a sprig of) the Bodhi-tree planted, gave gifts to monks for the sake of (transferring merit to) his mother and father,<sup>1</sup> giving lavishly to the virtuous and beggars. He died a reverent death<sup>2</sup> and was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of seventy<sup>3</sup> thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

In a former life he was a novice (monk), diligent and wise, who paid due homage to the Buddha, the Teaching and the Monastic Order; untiringly night and day he constantly provided the Order with hot and cold water, brooms and lamps. By the maturation of these deeds he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

<sup>1</sup> See note 1 on p. 74 on *dakkhiṇā*.

<sup>2</sup> The story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's death and entrance into the Tusita heaven, which he delayed in order to listen to monks reciting, is told in the Mahāvamsa Chap. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *sattati*-.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of eighty thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Born into a family of poor (people), he lived on what was given (to him) by others. (Whenever) he saw a monk on his alms-round he would stand (in front of) other people's houses and alert (any) house-owner who was unaware (that a monk was there) with elegant words (such as): 'master, a venerable virtuous (monk) is standing at the doors of (your) house, give generously whatever alms-food you have to this excellent (person)'. On hearing this the house-owner would say to him kindly 'Well spoken, my friend, I will give almsfood; take almsfood and present it to the elder'. By speaking in this way he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of ninety thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers].<sup>1</sup> Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

<sup>1</sup> Denis' text, based on M1, omits Sakka's reply *n' eso bhante ti* here, but this is a scribal error: it is found in M2, M3 and M4.

In Tambapaṇṇi Island, in Kaṇṇikārika village, he saw a stūpa of the Tathāgata<sup>1</sup> and worshipped it with a Kaṇṇikāra (flower), and with his eyes as a lamp, his head as (a bunch of) flowers, his voice as incense and his mind as perfume<sup>2</sup>; by the maturation of this deed he was reborn in the city of the Thirty-three (gods).

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

Then another junior god came to worship, with a retinue of a hundred thousand. The elder saw him [and asked the same questions as before, with the same answers]. Sakka recounted his meritorious deed in this verse:

Formerly he was a poor grass-cutter in Anurādhapura who refrained from killing, was good and established in the (Three) Refuge(s); he followed a proper livelihood by cutting grass and fire-wood. On one occasion when he had gone alone to the river he saw (some) silver sand; he carried it away, built a shrine and said happily: 'Oh, my shrine is beautiful ! It sparkles like a beryl, (it) shines and blazes like a fire; (it is so) beautiful it stirs the heart, (it is) lovely, glorious: I worship the excellent shrine I made with sand, I honour it with body, speech and mind, (as well as ) with flowers'. He fed virtuous (monks) and gave (them) what he had. By the maturation of this deed he was reborn in the home of the Thirty-three (gods).

<sup>1</sup> Reading *tathāgatathūpaṃ* with M2 and M4.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming *sugandhinā*.

He came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., and sat down there and then.

End of the first (section of the) story of Māleyya, dealing with the twelve junior gods.

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Then the noble Metteyya, the future Buddha, came down from the Tusita realm to worship at the shrine. He was attended by millions upon millions<sup>1</sup> of junior gods and goddesses, who shone with a light brighter than that of the moon with its thousand rays; he (himself) shone like a full moon in a cloudless autumn sky, surrounded by clusters of stars. They were (all) holding lamps, incense, perfumes and garlands.<sup>2</sup> His celestial radiance filled the whole city of the Thirty-three (gods) with light, gave off a celestial smell, and with his characteristic incomparable grace and charm he came to the shrine-terrace, walked around it keeping it to his right, paid reverence to and worshipped the eight directions, and sat down on the western side. Therefore it is said:

Then the noble Metteyya (came), attended by tens of millions, with a hundred divine young maidens in front, a hundred behind, a hundred to his right and to his left. Metteyya in their midst was like the moon in the midst of stars; everywhere was illuminated by the rays of the divine maidens and of their jewels, like the light from ten million moons.

<sup>1</sup> *Koṭṭisatasahassa*, 'one hundred thousand crores'; a crore is usually taken to be ten million.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *-ādāni* with M2, M3 and M4. I have not followed the exact order of the Pali here, for the sake of smooth English.

The elder saw the future Buddha from afar, and asked Sakka 'King of the gods, is this Metteyya the future Buddha ?' 'Yes, sir.' 'King of the gods, these divine young girls coming in front of Metteyya, with their (shining) white rays, clothes and jewels — what merit did they make in former lives in the human world ?' Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Venerable sir, all these celestial maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), made merit by giving gifts and the like on Uposatha day; they gave white clothes, white garlands, white perfumes and ointments, and white food to the excellent Buddha's monks. Because of these deeds of merit they are coming in front of Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit and again questioned Sakka: 'King of the gods, these divine young girls coming on the right of Metteyya, with (golden-)yellow rays, (golden-)yellow clothes and wearing golden jewels — what merit did they make in former lives in the human (world) ?' Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these celestial maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), made merit by keeping the (moral) precepts and the like on Uposatha day; they gave yellow clothes, yellow garlands, yellow perfumes and ointments, and yellow food to the excellent Buddha's monks. Because of these deeds of merit they are coming in front of Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit, and again questioned Sakka [in a similar way, about the divine young girls to Metteyya's left, with red rays, clothes and jewels]. Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these divine maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), heard and rightly honoured the Teaching<sup>1</sup> on Uposatha day, and gave red clothes, garlands, perfumes and ointments, and red food to the excellent Buddha's monks; they honoured the Three Jewels and (so) are coming on Metteyya's left.

[Again the elder praised their deeds and then questioned Sakka about the divine girls behind Metteyya, with dark-coloured rays,<sup>2</sup> etc.] Sakka recounted their deeds of merit:

Sir, all these divine maidens, when formerly born in the human (world), heard and rightly honoured the Teaching on Uposatha day, and gave dark-coloured clothes, garlands, perfumes and ointments, and dark food to the excellent Buddha's monks; with restraint, shining,<sup>3</sup> they are coming behind Metteyya.

On hearing this the elder praised their deeds of merit, and again asked Sakka 'What merit did Metteyya make that he should have attained such happiness ?' Sakka's capacity to elucidate<sup>4</sup> Metteyya's merit can be

<sup>1</sup> Either taking *supūjitā* in an active sense, as Denis suggests, or reading *supūjetvā* with M3 (here and in next verses). See note 3 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Sāma*, Skt. *śyāma* can refer to a number of dark colours. Denis chooses 'blue', perhaps because, as K.R. Norman writes (personal communication) 'other references to groups of people with different coloured robes, etc., usually have blue, yellow, red, white, which would suggest that *sāma* might be taken as = *nīla* "blue"'.  
<sup>3</sup> As Denis remarks, *saṃyamā* must be taken as an adjective here. He derives *saṃvibhātā* from *vi-bhaj*, to give a share (of), and says that this, like *supūjitā* in the previous verses, is a past participle used actively. The past participle passive from *vi-bhaj* is usually *vibhatta*, however, and I prefer to derive the form from *vi-bhā*, to shine. K.R. Norman suggests (personal communication) that *supūjitā* may be *metri causa* for the absolutive *supūjitvā*.

<sup>4</sup> *-opamāya ca paññāya pakāsetvā*, literally 'elucidating it with an understanding comparable to ...'. I have broken up the long Pali sentence, which is not without linguistic problems, into more manageable English.



compared to a hare (trying to) cross the ocean, or a blind man (trying to) climb a mountain, but he elucidated it briefly (as follows): there are three (types of future Buddha), called those who excel in faith, those who excel in wisdom, and those who excel in energy; Metteyya is one who excels in energy.<sup>1</sup> (All) future Buddhas, by means of the three-fold good conduct (consisting in) control of body, speech and mind, accumulated over many ages,<sup>2</sup> fulfil thirty perfections altogether: ten (ordinary) perfections, ten higher perfections, and ten perfections in the ultimate sense. The perfection of generosity comprises the sacrifice of wealth, children and wife [= ordinary perfection], the sacrifice of (one's own) limbs [= higher perfection] and the sacrifice of (one's) life [= perfection in the ultimate sense]<sup>3</sup>; and correspondingly (there are three levels of) the perfections of morality, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truth, resolution, loving-kindness and equanimity. He spoke these verses:

The merit which Metteyya the future Buddha made over and over again — not (even) the excellent omniscient Buddhas could describe it (all) — cannot be told (even) partially, just as a hare crossing the ocean or a blind man climbing a mountain would

<sup>1</sup> This classification of bodhisattvas would seem to be a Southeast Asian invention, found elsewhere in published Pali texts only at the very end of the *Dasabodhisattuddesa* (Martini (36): text p. 335, transl. pp. 367–68), where it is associated with three kinds of person, from a group of four, found in earlier literature (A II 135, Pp 41, Nett 7). The alternative version of this section cited in Appendix A from M3 says that Metteyya was 'one who excels in faith', although Denis gives no alternative for *thāmādhiko* in the following verses from that ms.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *anappakappopacita-kāyavācīmānopanihita-tividhasucaritena*.

<sup>3</sup> There is a certain amount of confusion in different texts as to which actions constitute which level of the perfections. This doubtless arises because the prefix *upa-* often denotes a 'minor' level of what it is prefixed to, whereas the term *upapārami* occurs second in the list: compare Ja I 25 and Bv-a 59 with Bv-a 113, and cf. Cp-a 272. I follow Horner (78: 89 and note 1, 162–63) in taking *upa-* in the sense of 'superior' (cf. CPD s.v.) or 'higher'.

not attain (their) goal<sup>1</sup>: in the same way Metteyya's merit is infinite, boundless, (since) he accumulated the necessary conditions (for enlightenment) completely, during many aeons. There are three (kinds of) future Buddhas: one is known as he who excels in energy,<sup>2</sup> who fulfils all perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment; (the second) is renowned in this human (world) as he who excels in faith, who fulfils all the perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and eight uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment; (the third) is renowned in this human (world) as he who excels in wisdom, who fulfils all the perfections during (a period of time lasting) a hundred thousand aeons and four uncountable aeons and (then) attains supreme Full Enlightenment. The future Buddha Metteyya is known as one who excels in energy; he has fulfilled all the perfections during a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen uncountable aeons and has been reborn in the Tusita (heaven): when he dies from that body (and is reborn on earth) he will attain Full Enlightenment.

While the elder was conversing thus with Sakka, Metteyya came, walked around the shrine keeping it to his right, paid reverence to the eight directions, worshipped with garlands, perfumes, etc., paid reverence with the five-fold prostration, and sat down on the eastern side. The future Buddha saw the elder sitting down there, paid reverence to him and asked 'Where have you come from, venerable Sir?' 'I have

<sup>1</sup> This is clearly the sense of *patiṭṭhā* here, although it is an unusual use of the word. Similarly, the general sense is quite clear in the sentence as a whole, despite the inelegant syntax of the Pali.

<sup>2</sup> In the prose version *virīya* appears here in place of *thāma*; they can be regarded as synonyms.

come from the Rose-Apple Island, great king.' 'Venerable Sir, what is happening among the human beings in Rose-Apple Island?' The elder answered his question by saying:

Everyone there lives according to their (past) deeds, rich and poor, happy and unhappy, attractive and unattractive, long-lived and short-lived. The rich are few, the poor are many; the happy are few, the unhappy many; the attractive are few, the unattractive many; the long-lived are few, the short-lived many. Human beings are few, there are more animals; that is why I say that everyone lives according to their (past) deeds.

The future Buddha heard what the elder said (and asked) 'Sir, do the human beings in Rose-Apple Island make much merit or demerit?' 'Great king, those who make merit are few, there are more who do evil.' 'Sir, how do they make merit?' He explained 'Great king, some human beings in Rose-Apple Island give alms, some preserve morality, (or) give the gift of The Truth, keep the Uposatha day(s), make images of the Buddha, build monasteries or residences (for the Order), give rains-residences, robes, almsfood (or) medicine, tend the Bodhi-tree, build stūpas, shrines, parks (for the Order), causeways (or) walkways (for meditation), dig wells (or) canals, give (the monastic) requisites (or) the ten-fold gift,<sup>1</sup> look after their mother and father, offer sacrifice for the sake of dead relatives, worship the Three Jewels, have their son enter the Monastic Order (as a novice),<sup>2</sup> or worship the Buddha-image: the

<sup>1</sup> Lists of gifts, varying in number, are found in the texts (e.g. A IV 239, Nidd I 373, Nidd II 233; the number ten is given at Pv-a 7); without citing a source Denis gives food, drink, lodging, clothes, vehicles, garlands, ointments, perfumes, seats and lamps.

<sup>2</sup> All mss. apart from M2 add here *keci dhammaputtam pabbājenti*, 'some have a son in the Teaching (?) enter the Monastic Order (as a novice)', which I do not understand. Perhaps *dhammaputta* refers to a novice, and the verb is repeated in

human beings in Rose-Apple Island do all these deeds of merit, according to their capacity, their strength and their inclination'. 'Sir, when the human beings in Rose-Apple Island make merit in these ways, what wishes do they make?' The elder recounted<sup>1</sup> their aspirations in these words:

Your Highness,<sup>2</sup> when they make even a (small) measure of merit, or cause others to make merit, or transfer their merit to others, they make an aspiration for enlightenment (in relation) to you: 'by the merit acquired through giving, morality and the like, may we gain sight of the Buddha Metteyya himself, (and) while the Buddha Metteyya is not reborn (on earth, but remains in heaven) worshipped by the gods, may we, moving through rebirths, never go to a hell'. In this way the human beings in Rose-Apple Island, everywhere and always, make merit and then make an aspiration with regard to you.

The future Buddha, joyful to hear (this) news of human beings in Rose-Apple Island, said 'Sir, let everyone who wishes to see me when I have attained Omniscience listen to a complete recitation in one day of the Great Vessantara Birth-Story; if they worship with a thousand lamps or a thousand lotuses, a thousand blue lotuses, blue water-lilies, Mandāra-flowers, flax-flowers, a thousand banners, parasols, flags or vehicles, and bring everything to worship the Teaching, they will attain arahantship along with the analytical insights at the time of my Enlightenment (and) in my presence'. Then he

error for *upasampādentī*; the phrase would then refer to monks ordaining their novices in the second and higher Ordination.

<sup>1</sup> Reading *kathento* with M2 and M3.

<sup>2</sup> The vocative *deva*, literally 'god' applies directly to Metteyya in his present birth in the Tusita heaven; since it is also regularly used as a form of address to kings, in the light of Māleyya's having previously called him 'great king' (*mahārāja*) I adopt this rendering here.

recounted how evil humans would not attain the sight of his Buddhahood, in these verses:

(Those who) violently mistreat nuns, make a schism in the Order, commit the five actions which bring immediate retribution,<sup>1</sup> destroy a stūpa or Bodhi-tree,<sup>2</sup> murder a future Buddha or take away the peace of the Order: (these) wicked and negligent beings will not be in my presence.

The elder listened to these words and said 'Great king, what you said was good ! I will recount (it) to the human beings in Rose-Apple Island. But when will you become Buddha ?' 'Sir, the dispensation of Gotama Buddha will last five thousand years and (then) disappear. When it has disappeared there will be an abundance of bad actions in the world. Even the word 'good' will not exist — how much less the occurrence of good (actions) ! Gradually human beings will lose (all) conscience and (sense of) shame, breaking (all) rules: they will not consider 'this is my mother, my daughter, my sister or grand-daughter', and will be (as) shameless as goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, jackals, dogs, and the like. Then gradually, because of their abundant bad actions, from (having) a lifetime fixed at a hundred years, human beings will deteriorate and (come to) have a lifetime of ten years. When there is taking and giving in marriage<sup>3</sup> between five year old boy(s) and girl(s), then will occur an 'intervening period of the sword'. Men will regard each other as animals; whatever they (can) grasp in their hands<sup>4</sup> will become a weapon like a two-edged (sword) or a single-edged razor, (and) they will kill each other. The wise among them, as soon as they hear of

<sup>1</sup> These are: matricide, parricide, killing an Arahant, causing a Buddha to shed blood, and creating schism in the Order.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *bodhiñ ca chedakā* with M5.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *āvāhavivāho* with M5.

<sup>4</sup> Reading with M5 *yam yam hatthēna gahitaṃ tan taṃ ...*

the destruction, will go to the mountains and hide by themselves; all the rest apart from them will attack and destroy each other within seven days. When the seventh day has passed, they will come out, each one from his hiding-place, embrace each other and come into harmony with each other, (saying) 'let us do good, and abstain from killing, from theft, sexual misdeeds, lying, intoxicating drink, speech which is malicious, harsh or frivolous, from envy, ill-will and wrong views — let us make merit !' (And so) they will make merit. Those who live ten years will have children who live for twenty; and as human beings make more and more merit, their children will gradually live for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety and a hundred years. Children will gradually live for two hundred years, (then) three, four, five, six, seven, eight and nine hundred years, (and then finally) a thousand. Gradually, the children of those who live a thousand years will live for two thousand; (then) for three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten thousand. Then human beings will practice religion still more, and will live for a hundred thousand years; as they practice religion still more, there will be those who live for millions and millions of years<sup>1</sup>; practising religion still further than this, they will live for an incalculable amount of time. Then old age and death will not be known among (these) beings; but again they will become negligent, and their length of life will diminish.<sup>2</sup> From (having) an incalculable length of life, men will deteriorate and (come to) have a lifetime of millions and millions of years<sup>3</sup>; from then they will gradually deteriorate (until) they have a lifetime of ninety thousand years; from then they will gradually deteriorate (until) they have a lifetime of eighty thousand years. At that time it will rain (only) in the middle of the night, every fortnight, ten

<sup>1</sup> Reading *koṭisatasahassāyukā* with M5; literally a hundred thousand crores; on *koṭi* see p. 79 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming *āyu parihāyissati*.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming (vassa-) *koṭisatasahassāyukā*, as at M5 above; see note 1 above.

days or five days, increasing the fertility of the earth.<sup>1</sup> The Rose-Apple Island will be prosperous (and) continuously filled with flowers, fruits, thickly-clustered garlands, and trees; (it will be) crowded with villages and towns (only) a cock's-flight (apart), free from thieves and robbers, without (any) grasping at (wrong) views, (and) blazing with royal cities; (it will be) replete with all treasures, happy, with abundant alms-food and at peace, replete with great amounts of food and drink, hard and soft food, fish, meat and the like, prospering with wealth and possessions. The reservoirs will be everywhere filled with beautifully soft water. Then, sir, husbands and wives will enjoy the pleasures of the five senses without arguments or anger; farmers, traders, and the like will live happily without (needing to) work; men and women will not (need to) spin thread or weave the loom, (but) will wear celestial clothes. Men will be content with their wives, and women with their husbands; restrained,<sup>2</sup> men will not commit adultery nor women make another man their husband, (but) they will be loving and pleasant to one another. No-one will stir up quarrels because of villages, towns, wealth, crops, fields, property or soil; all human beings will be handsome, with beautiful bodies, (and will be) loving and pleasant to each other. Crows will become friendly with owls, cats with mice, deer with lions, mongooses with snakes, lions with deer, and so on: in this way all animals which are (usually) enemies will be friendly to each other. Then, from one grain of self-growing rice (will come already-)husked grains: two thousand two hundred and seventy cartloads will be (for them as easily had as) sixteen *ambana*-measures and two *tumba*-s.<sup>3</sup> Then I will

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'the nutritive essence of the earth', *paṭhavirasa* (spelt thus in text); it is said that seeds take up this 'earth-essence', along with liquid, or 'the nutritive essence of water' (*sineha, aporasa*) to produce growth: S I 134, A I 32, V 213, Spk I 250, Pj II 5–6, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Again, assuming *samyamā* is being used adjectivally.

<sup>3</sup> I translate the text of M5, cited here by Denis but occurring in that ms. after the sentence 'farmers ... will live happily without (the need to) work'. Similar sentiments are expressed at Anāg vv. 27–29, and for the interpretation here see

listen to the entreaty of the gods and Brahmas living in the ten thousand-fold world system; I will make the Five Considerations, as to time, place, continent, family, and age-limit of the mother; (and) I will come as Buddha to the human world.' When he had said this, in order to praise his own perfections he said:

During a hundred thousand aeons and sixteen incalculable aeons I fulfilled the perfections variously, acting<sup>1</sup> as a future Buddha excelling in energy, and gave gifts<sup>2</sup>: when I attain omniscience no-one will be deformed. Putting ornaments on my head and ointment on my eyes I gave to beggars for millions and millions of years: when I attain omniscience no human being will be blind. Ornamenting all parts (of my body) I gave a complete gift: when I attain omniscience, no-one will be deformed. I told no lies and did not deceive anyone who asked (me for something): when I attain omniscience, no human being will be dumb. When I heard the Teaching I was glad, and I listened to what supplicants said: when I attain omniscience, no human being will be deaf. I looked at virtuous supplicants with loving eyes: when I attain omniscience, no human being will be blind. With upright body I gave gifts and the like at the proper time: when I attain omniscience no human being will be humpbacked. I gave beings medicine(s) and got rid of<sup>3</sup> the danger (from disease): when I attain omniscience, then beings will be in good health. I practised loving-kindness, destroying beings' fear and

Leumann (19) ad loc. The Anāg reads *ambanaṃ soḷasaṃ*, 'one sixteenth of an *ambana*'.

<sup>1</sup> Reading *caritvā* with M2.

<sup>2</sup> As Denis notes, the forms and tenses of the verbs in these verses are odd. The translation assumes all Metteyya's assertions about himself refer to the past, and all predictions about others refer to the future.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *vinodayi* with M5.

terror: when I attain omniscience, then there will be no Māras.<sup>1</sup> In a pleasant way I gave pleasing food and drink: when I attain omniscience human beings will be prosperous. In a pleasant way I gave pleasing clothes: when I attain omniscience human beings will be handsome. I gave to supplicants pleasing vehicles, elephants, horses, chariots, palanquins and litters: when I attain omniscience human beings will be happy. I freed beings from bondage, from hatred and suffering: when I attain omniscience, living beings will be free. I practised loving-kindness equally to friend and foe: when I attain omniscience, the ground will be even. I made supplicants happy with food and wealth: when I attain omniscience rivers will be full of cool water.

(Then Metteyya said this:)<sup>2</sup>

When they have done any (act of) merit human beings, full of fear of rebirth, aspire to (see) me; I will free them from existence. I will cause (them) to cross to the further shore of the world, (this world) whose fearful origin is ignorance, which is entangled in the net of delusion and carried away by the four floods. I (will) teach<sup>3</sup> the way to liberation to those who are smeared with the dirt of defilement, who follow after the thief (which is) craving, and have gone astray in (all) the regions of rebirth; I will teach the way to heaven to beings in the hells (called) Sañjiva, Kālasutta, Tāpana, Patāpana and Avīci. I will cut from (their) bondage beings who are bound by the ties of ignorance and caught in the net of craving, and make them

<sup>1</sup> *Māra*, literally death, is a name given to various phenomena and gods, all of which/whom are malevolent in some way; see DPPN s.v.

<sup>2</sup> This is found only in M3, but marks a natural break in the verses.

<sup>3</sup> The verbs in this sentence and the next are in the aorist.

attain *nirvāṇa*. The city of *nirvāṇa*, without old age or death, has a fence of wrong views and a door bolted by the sixty-two views: with the key of the Eight-fold Path I will open up (this door) for beings. I will give the medicinal stick of wisdom to beings whose sight is spoilt through being covered with the darkness of lust and hatred, and clean their eyes. I will give the excellent medicine of understanding to beings who are sick with grief, who suffer much, and who are oppressed by old age and death,<sup>1</sup> and (so) cure (them). I will suffuse with the light of understanding (the world) with its gods, asuras and humans, gone astray in the darkness of delusion,<sup>2</sup> and take away the darkness. I will raise from hell those who are falling, helpless and without refuge, into the hells, and show them the way to the further shore.

When he had said this the future Buddha told (the elder): ‘Sir, recount to human beings what I have said’. With his shining hands in the form of a hollow lotus-bud (made) by putting his ten finger-nails together, and putting the shining añjali-greeting (thus made) firmly to his forehead, (itself) like a well-washed plate of gold, he walked around the delightful sapphire Cūlāmaṇi-shrine, paid reverence to the eight directions and made a fivefold prostration, and took leave of the elder; escorted by millions and millions of junior gods and goddesses, shining like a full moon, risen to the top of the sky freed from masses of dense cloud (and) surrounded by clusters of stars, he went to the Tusita city. So it is said:

Thus the supremely beautiful Metteyya worshipped at the excellent shrine, again paid reverence, and left keeping his face

<sup>1</sup> The epithets here must be taken to refer to ‘beings’, although they are in the accusative singular and not genitive (used for dative) plural.

<sup>2</sup> Again, the grammar is faulty here, although the sense is clear.



towards (the shrine).<sup>1</sup> And all the celestial maidens worshipped at the excellent shrine, paid reverence to the eight directions and left (likewise). Just as the moon shines on an autumn full moon night, so the noble Metteyya shone among the gods. Like a lion among deer, a bull among cows, a Garuda among birds, so was he among the gods. Like Meru among mountains, adorned with the seven jewels, a Universal Emperor among men, so was he among the gods. The Pāricchattaka<sup>2</sup> among trees, the lotus among flowers, beryl among gems, so was he among the gods. Like fire at the top of a mountain, like refined gold, surpassing all the gods he shone with the fire of his beauty. Going to the Tusita realm, surrounded by gods, he experienced divine happiness and caused beings to rejoice<sup>3</sup> for a long time.

The elder<sup>4</sup> (possessed, as if he) was adorned with a multitude of ornaments, unlimited good qualities, such as the four perfect virtues — the supreme virtue of restraint by the Monastic Rule, the virtue of sense-restraint, the perfect virtue of right livelihood and the virtue of dependence (only) on the four requisites (of the Monastic Life). At the same moment (as Metteyya left) he paid reverence to the Cūlāmaṇi-

<sup>1</sup> *Piṭṭhito*, lit. 'backwards'.

<sup>2</sup> A tree in the Tāvātimsa heaven.

<sup>3</sup> Taking *pamodati* in the sense of the causative *pamodeti*; perhaps the text should be emended.

<sup>4</sup> The Pali has a single long sentence here, beginning with 'at the same moment (as Metteyya left)'; I have changed the long string of epithets applied to Māleyyadeva and to the golden swan into separate sentences. M3 has a different and shorter ending section, reproduced in Appendix C. The sense is much the same, but it adds in the last sentence of the prose: 'whoever listens attentively [assuming *suṇanti sakkaccaṃ*] to the Vessantara (Jātaka), taught by the Conqueror, and whatever benefactors make merit and (practise) morality and the like, (they will all) hear [assuming *suṇanti*, used for the future tense] the excellent Happy One Metteyya, (their) support [taking *passayaṃ* as equivalent to *apassayaṃ*].

shrine and took leave of Sakka, king of the gods. He travelled along the path of rebirth<sup>1</sup> which is the origin of sufferings such as birth, old age and death, which have their home in numerous forest thickets crowded with various trees and forest creepers such as the extremely strong (trees and creepers of) lust, craving and wrong views.<sup>2</sup> He shone like a golden swan whose supreme, outstanding body had a head guarding the threefold knowledge, wings of the fourth meditation level, two excellent lucky feet of the beautiful, shining bases of supernatural power, and the entire plumage guarding the eight liberations, the analytical knowledges and the worldly and super-worldly confidences. He descended from the realm of the Thirty-three, came to Rose-Apple Island, and with the incomparable grace natural to a disciple (of the Buddha)<sup>3</sup> went for alms in villages, towns and royal cities. So it is said:

Then the elder (Māleyya-)deva took leave of the king of the gods, paid reverence again at the shrine and came down from heaven. He shone like a golden swan as he came again to the human (world) and went for alms in towns and royal cities.

As he returned for alms he announced to the people of Rose-Apple Island the news of Metteyya. When they heard what the elder said people were glad and made merit through giving and the like: at the end of their lives they filled up the divine worlds. The poor man who had given the eight blue lotus flowers remembered that gift of lotuses all his life; when he died (he went) from the human world and was reborn in the realm of the Thirty-three, in a blue-lotus palace inlaid with seven jewels,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. he returned to earth from heaven.

<sup>2</sup> There is probably a pun intended here between *vana-* as 'forest' and *vana* as a synonym for *taṇhā*, 'craving'. The image is of Māleyyadeva returning from heaven like a swan through a forest, both of which are metaphorically elaborated.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. not the same as the 'grace' or 'charm' of a Buddha, *Buddha-līlā*.



crowded with celestial maidens and ringing with the sound of dancing, singing and the five kinds of musical instrument. As he walked lotuses of five colours (appeared to) receive each foot; the odour from his mouth pervaded the entire city of the gods like the perfume of a lotus. The gods and goddesses smelt the lotus-perfume and followed after him; they all saw a lotus receiving each foot, and told Sakka, king of the gods. When he heard their tale he was delighted, and went there (to him) and asked 'God, what deed of merit did you do in the human world to obtain such happiness?' He listened to what Sakka said and replied 'King of the gods, formerly in the human world I lived in Mithilā supporting my mother; I was a young man called Piṅguttara.<sup>1</sup> One day I went to a certain pond to bathe. When I had bathed there I saw eight blue lotus flowers; I took them and gave them to a certain elder. Because of that gift of blue lotuses I have been born in a blue-lotus palace; as I walk lotus flowers come into existence at each step, my eyes are like blue-lotus petals, my body has an odour like that of a blue lotus, and I am born (here) as the junior god named Blue-lotus'. When Sakka heard this he became joyful and glad; he took blue-lotus flowers and worshipped at the shrine of the Buddha. The junior god Blue Lotus is still there today. So it is said:

To enjoy (the result of) that merit, and divine happiness, in a future birth in the presence of Metteyya — this is the result of a gift of flowers. Therefore the wise man who aspires to be in the presence of Metteyya should practice alms-giving, morality and the like. Whoever remembers the future Buddha's words and does any act of merit, will gain the advantage of seeing Metteyya, and will in the future make an end of suffering;

<sup>1</sup> J VI 347–49 tells a different story of a young man from Mithilā, in north India, with this name; perhaps the Māleyyadevattheravattu has borrowed the names, although this is clearly the same person as at the start of the story, in Kamboja village, Rohana, Sri Lanka.

(before then,) moving on through rebirth, that person will not go to hell.

End of the expository account of the Elder Māleyyadeva.

(This) will be a cause of (attaining) *nirvāṇa* in the future !<sup>1</sup>

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for titles of Pali texts are those of the Critical Pāli Dictionary

Childers = R.C. Childers' Dictionary of the Pāli Language

CPD = Critical Pāli Dictionary

DPPN = Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names

HOS = Harvard Oriental Series

PED = The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary

PTS = Pali Text Society

<sup>1</sup> Denis states that in M1, the only ms. in which it occurs, the word *bhavissanti* [for *bhavissati*] seems to have been written later, to complete the verse. Presumably the 'cause' for attaining *nirvāṇa* here is copying the manuscript and/or listening to its being recited.

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## NIBBĀNASUTTA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA ON NIBBĀNA AS A GREAT CITY<sup>1</sup>

The pages that follow carry a preliminary edition and translation of the *Nibbānasutta*, an “allegedly non-canonical”<sup>2</sup> Pali text

<sup>1</sup> This is a corrected and revised version of the edition and translation of the *Nibbānasutta* that was published as “The Sutta on Nibbāna as a Great City” in the commemorative volume for the Ven. Hammalava Saddhatissa, *Buddhist Essays: A Miscellany*, edited by Pollamure Sorata Thera, Laksman Perera, and Karl Goonasekera (London: Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre, 1992), pp. 38–67.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance I received from Professor G.D. Wijayawardhana, Steven Collins, Jacqueline Filliozat, and P.B. Meegaskumbura in the preparation of this edition and translation. All read over a preliminary transcription of the manuscript and each made many suggestions for improving the text. Professor Wijayawardhana's and Steven Collins' comments also aided me in translating the text. P.B. Meegaskumbura made many helpful comments on the introduction. It was, however, only through the generosity and kindness of Jacqueline Filliozat that this edition was even possible. She made a copy of the original manuscript available to me and also made it possible for me to learn how to read *mūl* script. Finally, she compared my initial transcription with the original manuscript and made a number of improvements in the reading of the manuscript itself.

<sup>2</sup> I use this appellation to refer to texts which begin with the standard phrases of a sutta — “*Evam me sutaṃ. Ekaṃ samayaṃ ...*” — but are not found in standard editions of the Pali canon. The term comes from K.D. Somadasa, who uses it in his *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library* (London: The British Library, and Henley-on-Thames: Pali Text Society, 1987), Vol. I, p. 27. I prefer this label to the alternative designations “apocryphal” or “counterfeit”, since it is less likely to pre-judge the whole issue of the status of such texts; see Charles Hallisey, “Tuṇḍilovāda: An Allegedly Non-Canonical Sutta,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, XV (1990), pp. 156–58. The use of the term “apocryphal” for texts whose inclusion in the Canon might be contested has been popularized by Padmanabh S. Jaini; see especially “*Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 35 (1992), p. 193. The label “counterfeit Sutta” has been applied to the *Dasabodhisattupattikathā* by the Ven. H. Saddhatissa (*The Birth*